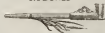


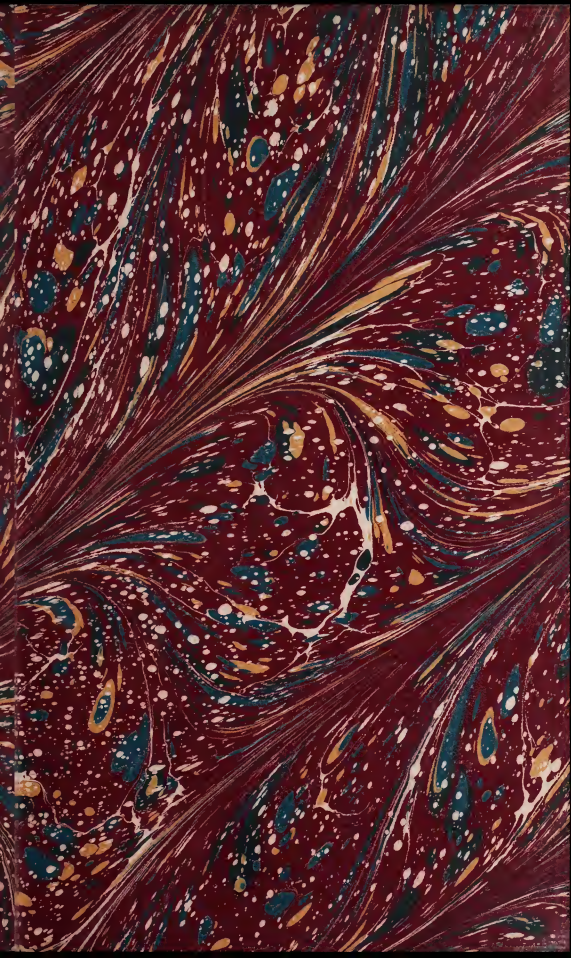


GUACANAGARI	PONTIAC	BLACK HAWK
MONTEZUMA	CAPTAIN PIPE	KEOKUK
QUATIMOTZIN	LOGAN	SACAGAWEA
POWHATAN	CORNPLANTER	BENITO JUAREZ
POCAHONTAS	JOSEPH BRANT	MANGUS
SAMOSET	RED JACKET	COLORADAS
MASSABOIT	LITTLE TURTLE	LITTLE CROW
KING PHILIP	TECUMSEH	SITTING BULL
UNCAS	OSCEOLA	CHIEF JOSEPH
TEDYUSKUNG	SEQUOYA	GERONIMO
	SHABONEE	



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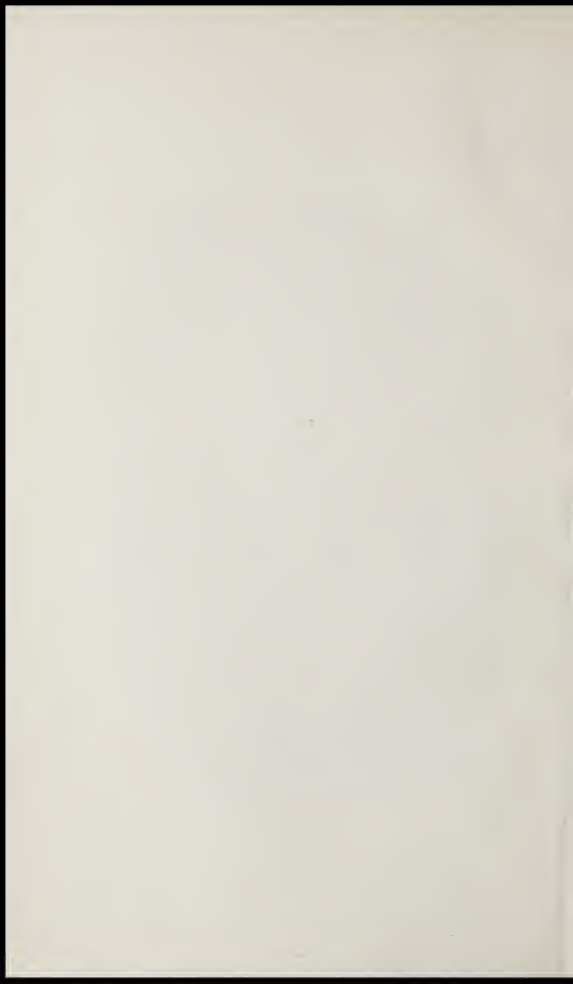






BRUCE'S AND POWELL'S MONUMENT, NEAR WECHQUADNACH LAKE.—SEE PAGE 183.





THE
INDIANS

OF THE

HOUSATONIC AND NAUGATUCK VALLEYS.

BY

SAMUEL ORCUTT,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORIES OF THE TOWNS OF WOLCOTT, TORRINGTON, DERRY, AND
NEW MILFORD, CONN.

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PREFACE.

The intention at first was, to make this volume a part of the one soon to be published, of the old town of New Milford, but when the time came to put the matter into print it was found to be too cumbersome for one volume, and upon this it was determined, to add about eighty pages of matter concerning the labors of the Moravian Missionaries in Scaticook, Shekomeko, and adjacent places, and therewith make a separate volume. This latter portion of the book is taken from Loskiel's History of the Moravian Missions in North America, in which it is intended to follow his orthography as well as to reprint his language largely, throughout that part of the work. A considerable part of the first six chapters of this book had been put into print by the author, previously, but considerable additions and alterations were made to them, and since by retaining them, an account of the Indians of Western Connecticut, upon a general plan of tribal union, could be secured, as had not heretofore been obtained, it was thought to be desirable that the whole should be presented here as a monogram, or brief historical outline of the tribes who inhabited the territory mentioned.

It is acknowledged that, while the plan of this work, viz., that the source of information is largely confined to the deeds executed by the Indians to the white people,—is different from account of the Indians heretofore pre-

sented to the public, the execution thereof is but imperfectly accomplished, for want of time to visit localities and collect those deeds, if any there are, not yet recorded in public print.

It is confidently believed that any future research which may be made, will only confirm the idea here advanced, that the Indians of the Housatonic Valley came at first, hundreds of years ago, from the locality of Shekomeko, to Scaticook, and thence soon after to Weantinock, where they established and maintained the place of their council fires, or as Sherman Boardman wrote in 1796, "the great Capitol was New Milford, and here was the seat of government."

It was purposed to have a map representing the various purchases made of the Indians, and also to add four engravings which are not now produced, but the small number of volumes issued would not allow the proper expenditures for this purpose.

Imperfect as the whole is, it is committed to the reading public in the hope that some little good may come of it.

THE AUTHOR.

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THE INDIAN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

LOCAL DESCRIPTIONS.



CAREFUL review of the territory drained by the Housatonic and Naugatuck rivers will be advantageous both to the Indian as well as the English history, especially, since in the account of the company which gathered at Weantinock, now New Milford, for a time, and then passed on westward, it will be maintained that that settlement consisted of remnants of all the tribes who originally inhabited the State, westward of the Connecticut river. It is also important in order to an understanding of the movements of the Indian tribes within this territory,—their gradual extinction, and the complete acquisition of the territory by the incoming English.

The chief river of western Connecticut is the Housatonic (more properly the Howsatunnuck,¹ and known in former times as the Stratford, Potatuck, or Great river). It enters the State from the north, about seven miles east of its western boundary, and flows in a direction somewhat west of south for about thirty miles, when, having almost touched the New York State line, just before entering New Milford territory, it bends toward the east, and for a distance of thirty-five miles flows in a southeasterly direction, when it turns again and flows nearly due south for nine or ten miles, and empties into Long Island Sound between Stratford and Milford. Between the two bends (in that part of its course wherein it flows to the southeast) it receives several tributaries; prominent among them from the west are the Ten Mile brook, which rises in Sharon, flows southward into New York, and then eastward into the Housatonic at Bull's Bridge; the Wiminam (old name Whomesage or Wimmisink) runs northeast, and empties into the Housatonic at Gaylords-

¹For a careful examination of this name see chapter on New Milford Indians.

ville; the *Naromiyocknowhusunkatankshunk* brook, which rises in *Sherman* runs north, and enters the *Housatonic* a little distance below *Gaylordsville*; the *Rocky* river, which rises in *Sherman*, runs south through *New Fairfield* into *Neversink Pond*, in *Danbury*, then turns directly north, where for some miles it is called *Wood Creek*, and empties into the *Housatonic* a mile above *New Milford* village, but for a little distance before it empties, it is again called *Rocky* river; the *Still* river which rises in the western part of *Danbury* in several ponds, runs easterly to *Danbury* village, then directly north and empties into the *Housatonic* just above *Falls Mountain*; and the *Potatuck* brook in *Newtown* that flows north into the *Housatonic*.

Also prominent among those entering from the north are: the *Womenshenuck* river, that flows southerly into the *Housatonic*, at *Gaylordsville*; the *Aspetuck*, which drains *Wauramaug* lake, flows southward and enters the *Housatonic* a little distance above *New Milford*; the *Shepaug* river, which drains *Bantam* lake in *Litchfield* and smaller lakes in *Goshen*; the *Pomperaug*, which flows through *Woodbury* and *Southbury*; and *Eight Mile* brook, which drains *Lake Quassapaug*. Just at the second bend where it turns to go southward, and nine or ten miles from the mouth, it receives the *Naugatuck* river. Thus constructed the *Housatonic* becomes a river of considerable dimensions, and the scenery along its valley is among the most beautiful and picturesque in the state, while in its valley, thirty-five miles from *Bridgeport* on the *Sound*, is located the village of *New Milford*.

The *Naugatuck* belongs to this group of southward flowing tributaries, but is much the largest and constitutes the main branch of the *Housatonic*. Its general course from *Torrington* to *Birmingham* is southward and parallel to the other tributaries. Its length, running between these two points, is thirty-eight and a half miles. The river is formed by the union of the east and west branches at *Torrington*, near the southern boundary of the town of *Torrington*. The west branch rises in *Norfolk*, and flows through the northeast corner of *Goshen*, and through *Torrington* in a southeasterly direction; the east branch rises in *Winchester* and flows more nearly southward. Between the two branches there is a range of hills which terminates abruptly at its southern extremity in a height known as *Red Mountain*.

At Torrington village, the hills on opposite sides of the stream are about a mile apart, but just above Litchfield Station, they come close down to the river, and the valley for many miles below is narrow, and flanked by precipitous heights. All along its course there are alluvial lands, curiously arranged for the most part in triangular pieces on the east side of the stream; and between Waterville and Naugatuck, these lands broaden out into extensive meadows—the “interval, (or inter-vale) lands” of Mattatuck—which attracted the first settlers to this part of the state. In the neighborhood of Waterbury, not only are the meadows wide, but the hills which overlook them are low, and partake of the character of bluffs, while on the eastern side there is an opening in the hills large enough to afford room for a thriving little city. Below Naugatuck, the water-shed becomes narrow again, and the hillsides precipitous. This is especially true of the section below Beacon Hill brook, where the hills are not only steep, but high and rocky, and the valley is gorge-like. The “dug-road,” on the eastern bank, and the railroad on the western, are cut into the foundations of the mountains, and at the same time overhang the rushing waters. From Beaver brook to the mouth of the river at Birmingham, about two miles, there is a fine tract of meadow-land, about half a mile in width, which attracted the first settlers to that locality. In the upper part of the valley (for example, just above Waterville) there is much that is wild and picturesque; but the entire section between Beacon Hill brook and Seymour, is of quite exceptional beauty and grandeur.

The Naugatuck has many tributaries, for instance, Spruce brook, which flows through East Litchfield, and empties near Campville; Lead River, which rises in New Hartford, and flows through Harwinton; the West Branch, which rises in Morris and Litchfield, and divides Thomaston from Watertown, and empties at Reynold’s Bridge; Hancock’s brook, which rises in the northeast part of Plymouth, and empties at Waterville; Steele’s brook, which flows through Watertown, and empties at the northwest boundary of the City of Waterbury; Mad river, which rises in the northern part of Wolcott, and flows through the City of Waterbury; Smug brook, which empties at Hopeville; Fulling-Mill brook, which flows westward and empties at

Union City; Hop Brook, which comes from Middlebury and empties at Naugatuck; Longmeadow brook, which rises in Middlebury, drains Longmeadow pond, receives a tributary from Toantuck pond, and empties at Naugatuck; Beacon Hill river (anciently the boundary between Waterbury and Derby) one branch of which rises in the north of Prospect, the other in Bethany; Sherman's brook, which tumbles through High Rock Glen; Lebanon brook, which rises in the south of Bethany and empties at Beacon Falls; Chestnut Tree Hill brook, which comes from the west, and empties at Pine's Bridge; Bladen's brook, which rises in Bethany and Woodbridge, and empties at Seymour; Little River, which rises in Middlebury, drains Oxford, and empties at Seymour; and Beaver brook, which empties a little below Ansonia. These are all rapid streams, plunging downward into the deep valley of the Naugatuck, and compared with the great western rivers, it has but an insignificant watershed; yet there are eighteen or twenty towns embraced in it. Those which border upon the river are Torrington, Litchfield, Harwinton, Plymouth, Thomaston, Watertown, Waterbury, Naugatuck, Beacon Falls, Seymour, Derby. Those which, although lying back from the river, are drained in part by its tributaries, are Morris, Middlebury, Wolcott, Prospect, Bethany, and Oxford.

It may be seen from this rapid sketch, that this region of country is but a narrow valley drained by a tributary river of very moderate size, is of limited extent and has a decided geographical unity. Besides this, it has come to possess in modern times a unity of another kind. The township divisions and the centers of population are numerous, but industrially the valley is one. The district extending from Winsted, just beyond the headwaters of the river and in the same valley, to Birmingham at its mouth, has become the seat of one of the greatest manufacturing industries of the country. As in other valleys of New England, the populations once seated on the hills have crowded to the water courses, drawn by opportunities of lucrative employment; and, at the magic touch of the finger of trade, have sprung up or risen into a larger life such busy centers as Torrington, Thomaston, Waterbury, Naugatuck, Seymour, Ansonia, Birmingham, and Derby. If we take rail-

way connections into account, the thrifty village of Watertown should be included in the list.

To dwell upon the physical features of the Housatonic and Naugatuck valleys is important, because the Indian history commences at a period when these characteristics were almost the only ones to be noticed, and when the habitations of the natives were mostly confined to the localities at the outlets of these rivers. To obtain a clear understanding of that history, the reader must rid himself, so far as possible, of modern associations, must lose sight of all political divisions of the territory, must forget the existence of these business centers which have just been enumerated, must suppose this dense population, and these dwellings and shops and streets and highways and bridges, and these extensive manufactories, and the railroads with their stations and rolling equipments, all swept away,—in fact, all the multitudinous products of modern civilization, and go back to the primitive period in the history of New England. The rivers were here, and the brooks flowing into them. The hills were here, and the occasional patches of meadow land; and the entire region, the meadows excepted, was covered with stately forests. The woods abounded with game, and the streams in fish, but the country was a pathless wilderness, the heritage and possession of the Red man. It was not divided as it now is among individual owners, but it belonged to the natives who roamed through its woods and established their camping grounds upon its streams. The statement in the History of Waterbury, that, "at the time of its discovery by white men there was no Indian settlement within the limits of the ancient town," might safely be applied to the entire valley, if the places near the outlets of the two rivers were excepted—Stratford and Derby. But what was true two hundred years ago may not have been always true; and besides, although there may not have been settlements in these valleys, it does not follow that they were totally unoccupied. The Indians not only claimed them—they roamed over them as well-tried hunting-grounds. The lands in the upper part of the valleys were especially attractive in this respect, for it is said that in the section which is now known as Litchfield, "many of the hills were nearly cleared of trees by fires" which Indian hunters had kindled in order to secure game, the same having been true of several hills also in New Milford.

It is to the traces of Indian occupancy in the territory thus described, that attention is directed, in order to a better knowledge of the clans which dwelt at Milford, Stratford, and Derby, from just before the settlement of the English to the final disappearance of the natives of this whole territory. These traces might be pursued in the light of three sources of information: the land records, the traditions and place-names, and the relics discovered, the arrow-heads, spear-heads and knives, the larger ground-stone implements and the soapstone dishes; but the first of these (the land records) will afford the largest source of information in this brief account of the departing footsteps of the Red man.

The primitive condition of things in these valleys continued until the middle of the seventeenth century, but previous to which a number of settlements had been made within the territorial area now embraced in the State of Connecticut. It was in 1635 that parties of emigrants from the neighborhood of Boston pursued their way through the wilderness to the Connecticut river and settled at Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. After the Indian war of 1637, those who pursued the fleeing Pequots toward the west, saw for the first time the lands on Long Island Sound lying westward of the mouth of the Connecticut, and as a consequence, their value soon became known, and in 1638 a colony went from Boston and established its headquarters on New Haven Bay. One of the New Haven companies went still further and settled at Milford, in 1639. In the same year lands were purchased at Stratford, and a settlement was begun, but by a different company of emigrants. All these plantations were upon the sea coast or on navigable waters, but in 1640 some of the Hartford settlers, attracted by the meadow-lands of the Farmington river, removed westward and established a settlement at Farmington.

Now, how were the aboriginal inhabitants situated at the time when these settlements were made, that is, from 1635 to 1640, and for some years afterward?

It must be remembered that they all belonged alike to the great Algonkin stock—a division of the Indian race which at the discovery extended along the Atlantic coast all the way from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Peedee river. Of this

extensive family, the most important branch were the Delawares. The Abnakis, far to the northeast, were also important. But in New England the native population was broken into numerous petty tribes, speaking divergent dialects of the one stock language. On the western bank of the Connecticut, an Algonkin people is found extending for some distance up and down the river, constituting a group of tribes or a confederacy, ruled by a sachem named Sequassen. The precise nature of the bond which held them together it is impossible to ascertain, but it is certain that when the English first came among them Sequassen claimed jurisdiction over territory occupied by other chiefs, and sold land to the magistrates of Hartford extending as far west as the country of the Mohawks. His dominion embraced therefore the tribes of the Farmington river, some of whom had their principal seat at Poquonnoc, five or six miles from its mouth, and others at the bend in the river, eight or ten miles west of the Connecticut, where Farmington was afterwards settled. The first Poquonnoc chief known to the English was named Sehat. He was succeeded by one whose name is familiar to Waterbury people under the form of Nosahogon, but whose true name was Nassahegon or Nesaheagun.

The Indians of Farmington are known as the Tunxis tribe. They had a camping-ground also at Simsbury, and claimed all the territory west of that place as far as the Housatonic river. They are spoken of by Mr. J. W. Barber in his "Historical Collections," as a numerous and warlike tribe; but Mr. J. W. DeForest, in his "History of the Indians of Connecticut," estimates their number at "eighty to one hundred warriors, or about four hundred individuals." Whatever other chiefs they may have had, the authority of Nassahegon seems to have been recognized, and also the necessity of securing his consent in the disposal of lands.

If now attention is directed from the center of the state to the shore along the sound, the country of the Quiripi (or Long Water) Indians comes into view, a people known around New Haven harbor as Quinnipiacs. They claimed quite a large tract of land, although their numbers were few. The New Haven company entered into an agreement, Nov. 14, 1638, with Mo-mauguin, sachem of that part of the country, and his counsel-

lors, respecting the lands, and the treatment of the Indians. The articles are to this effect. That Momauguin is the sole sachem of Quinnipiac, and had absolute power to aliene and dispose of the same ; that in consequence of the protection he had tasted, by the English, from the Pequots and Mohawks,² he yielded up all his right, title, and interest to all the land, rivers, ponds, and trees, with all the liberties and purtenances belonging to the same, unto Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, and others, their heirs and assigns forever. He covenanted that neither he nor his Indians would terrify or disturb the English, or injure them in any of their interests; but that, in every respect, they would keep true faith with them.

The English pledged to protect Momauguin and his Indians, when unreasonably molested by the other Indians, and that they should always have a sufficient quantity of land to plant, on the east side of the harbor between that and Saybrook Fort. In this agreement they gave unto the chief, his council and company, twelve coats of English cloth, twelve alchymy spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen knives, twelve porringers, and four cases of French knives and scissors.

Thomas Stanton, being the interpreter on the occasion, declared in the presence of God, that he had faithfully acquainted the Indians with the articles, and returned their answers.³

In the December following, they purchased a tract of land ten miles in length, north and south, and thirteen in breadth, lying north of the former one. It extended eight miles east of the river Quinnipiac, and five miles west of it towards Hudson's river. It included all the lands within the ancient limits of the old towns of New Haven, Branford, and Wallingford, and almost the whole contained in the present limits of those towns, and the towns of East Haven, North Branford, Meriden, Ches-

² The Indians of Quinnipiac, in this treaty, declared that they still remember the heavy taxes of the Pequots and Mohawks; and that, by reason of the fear of them, they could not stay in their own country, but had been obliged to flee. By these powerful enemies they had been reduced to forty men.

³ New Haven Deed, Nov. 14, 1638.

Momauguin,
Carroughood,

Sugcogisin,
Woosauruck.

Quosaquash,

The mark of Shumpishuh, the sister of Momauguin, called in the agreement Squaw Sachem, who had some interest in a part of the land.

hire, Hamden, North Haven, Bethany, Woodbridge, and a part of Orange. The deed was signed by Montowese, son of the great sachem at Mattabeseck (Middletown), and Sawsounck, an Indian who came with him to New Haven.⁴ It appears that this land descended to Montowese from his deceased mother. His tribe or company consisted of but ten men, with their women and children.

The Quinnipiacs dwelt in summer upon the shore, for the convenience of fishing; and in the winter in the forests, for the convenience of fuel.

They had a place in East Haven for pow-wowing, about three-quarters of a mile east of the harbor bridge.

It is said that they had neither marriages nor divorces; and that they caught round clams with their feet, and taught the same art to the English. The Indian arrow-heads, found here frequently, are like some which were brought from Cape Horn. At Fort Hill there was an Indian fort, and an Indian burying-place on the eastern side of the hill; the name of the location was at first Indian Hill.

Charles, the last sachem of this tribe, is said to have been frozen to death, near a spring about one mile north of the Congregational church in East Haven, about one hundred and forty years ago.⁵

On the territory ceded by the second New Haven deed, in North Haven, the Indians (says Dr. Trumbull) were sometimes very numerous, giving much alarm to the inhabitants, especially to the women and children. The Indians at Mattabeseck (Middletown), were connected with the Indians in this part of the state, and the extent of the river into the northern part of Farmington, and the fine fishing and fowling upon it formed a connection with the Farmington Indians. The combination of these circumstances sometimes filled the parish with Indians. At particular times they seemed to swarm the river, and the groves and swamps appeared to be alive with them. After the settlement commenced, they held a grand pow-wow, on the road between the corner of the market-place and John Humiston's; the peo-

⁴ New Haven Deed, Dec., 1638.

Montowese,

Sawsounck.

⁵ J. W. Barber's Historical Col., 134.

ple were in great fear that their fields of corn would be ruined by them, but by the influence of the chief sachem they were restrained from doing any damage.⁶

In Wallingford the inhabitants suffered repeatedly in their apprehensions from the incursions of the Indians. On the 27th of August, 1675, upon the breaking out of King Philip's war, the houses of Mr. Street and Lieut. Merriman were ordered to be fortified, and the whole town engaged in the work until it was completed; and every man was required to bring arms and ammunition on the Sabbath. In the following October, Sergt. Doolittle's house at the lower end of the town was fortified, and persons were appointed to keep garrison at each of these fortified places.⁷ In February, 1690, when the inhabitants numbered four hundred, there was an order of the town "to fort in the meeting-house." Again in 1702, the apprehensions from the fury of the savages were revived and the inhabitants brought arms on the Lord's day.

There were Indians at Guilford from whom the land was purchased in 1639, and one condition made with them was that they should remove from the place, which they did soon after, and "the tradition is, that they removed westward to Branford or East Haven," and possibly some of them went further and united their fortunes with their race at Milford or Stratford.

Some Specific Records.

June 4, 1646, Pawquash a Quillpiock (Quinnipiac) Indian was first complained of for leaving open the oyster shell field gate, and damage being done thereby refused to give any satisfaction.

Secondly, he about four years since came into Mr. Craynes house when they were blessing God in the name of Jesus Christ; and that he did then blasphemously say that Jesus Christ was mattamoy and naught, and his bones rotten, and spake of an Indian in Montoises (Montowese's) plantation, ascended into Heaven, which was witnessed by Mr. Crayne, Mrs. Crayne, Mrs. Ling, Wm. Holt, Goodie Camp.

The sentence of the court was, that he should be severely whipped for thus scorning at our worshiping God and blaspheming the name of our Lord Jesus, and informing him that if he should do so hereafter, it would be against the light he now has, and it would hazzard his life.

And for damage by means of the gate being left open, he was to pay five shillings to Thomas Knowles.

It is ordered that Wequash shall have a sute of clothes made at the towns charge. Nov., 1641.

⁶ Ibid. 241.

⁷ Dr. Dana's century sermon.

One Wequash Cook, an Indian living about Connecticut river's mouth, and keeping much at Saybrook with Mr. Fenwick, attained to good knowledge of things of God and salvation by Christ, so as he became a preacher to the Indians, and labored much to convert them, but without effect, for within a short time he fell sick, not without suspicion of poison from them, and died very comfortably.⁸

⁸ Sav. Winth. II. 74, sub. anno 1642.—*New Haven Col. Rec.*

CHAPTER II.

MILFORD, STRATFORD, AND DERBY.



WEST of the territory of the Quinnipiacs we enter the country of the Wepawaugs, which tribe was a large one, and at the time of the coming of the English, were settled at three localities,—Milford, Stratford, and Derby,—thus occupying considerable territory on both sides of the Housatonic. It extended, probably, from the West river, which separates New Haven from Orange, all the way to Fairfield. On the west of the Housatonic they claimed all the territory now comprised in the towns of Stratford, Bridgeport, Trumbull, Huntington, and Monroe; and on the east side, as far north as Beacon Hill brook, east of the Naugatuck, including the town of Milford, and the western part of Orange, Woodbridge, and Bethany, and, as we shall see, still further,—overlapping the hunting grounds of the Tunxis; and north and east of the Housatonic above Birmingham Point, they claimed the territory nearly to the Massachusetts line, certainly into the town of Norfolk, whither their deeds extend.

This large tribe at the coming of the English was under the dominion of the well-known chief Ansantaway, whose "big wigwam" is said to have been on Charles Island, at Milford, and the wigwams of whose people scarcely extended beyond "The Neck" above the present village of Birmingham, in Derby.

The first purchase of land at Milford was made of the Indians, Feb. 12, 1639, and comprehended about two miles of what is now the center of the town. The deed was given to Mr. William Fowler, Edmund Tapp, Zechariah Whitman, and Alexander Bryan, in trust for the body of the planters; the consideration being, "six coats, ten blankets, one kettle, besides hoes, knives, hatchets and glasses." The instrument was signed by Ansantaway and others.¹

¹ Milford deed, Feb. 12, 1639.

Ansantaway, sagamore,
Arracowset,

Anshuta,
Manamatque.

Tatacenacouse,

Afterwards other purchases were made until the Wepawaugs had sold themselves out of house and home, at Milford, in very deed. The tract lying west of the settlement, on the Housatonic river, was bought in 1656, for the sum of twenty-six pounds to be paid in goods.² The Indian Neck, lying between the East River and the Sound, was purchased in 1660.³ A reservation of twenty acres was made by the Indians in this last tract, for planting ground, which reservation they sold, Dec. 12, 1661, for six coats, two blankets, and two pair of breeches. By this last agreement "Ansantaway and wife and his sons Toutonemoe and Ankeanach, in case of danger" were granted "liberty to sit down for shelter in some place near the town where the townsmen (selectmen) should think fit."⁴ In accordance with this agreement the town sometime afterwards appointed a tract of land on its northern border, adjoining the Derby line and made it a reservation for them.

Turkey Hill Reservation.

Aug. 17, 1680. We whose names are hereunto subscribed being appointed by the General Court to lay out in Milford bounds, one hundred acres of land for the Indians' improvement, we have this present day laid the said hundred acres on the east side of Stratford River, being bounded on the west with Stratford River, north with the brook called the Two Mille brook and divided between Milford and Derby, and south with another brook called Turkey Hill brook; and near the north we run not far from the Two Mile brook; from the river called Stratford River, easterly, one hundred and sixty rods, and there marked a white oak and set a straight range which is to run to the Two Mile brook northerly, and a straight range southerly to the brook called the Turkey brook; meet highways allowed.

Jehu Burr, Joseph Hawley, in the behalf of Milford, Robert Treat, Sen., William Fowler consenting.

The place more recently known as Turkey Hill is a little way up the river from the mouth of Two Mile brook, in which place there was an Indian burying place, a few graves, and where is still the sight of the last home of Molly Hatchet, the last of the tribe there, so far as known.

If at this time there were other remnants of the Weepawaug

² Milford Deed, Dec. 20, 1656.

Ansantaway,

Toutonomae,

Akenash.

³ Milford Deed, Jan. 2, 1660.

Ansantaway,

Toutonomae,

Akenash.

⁴ Milford Deed, Dec. 20, 1661.

Ansantaway,

Toutonomae,

Akenash.

Indians remaining east of the Housatonic, they were, probably, absorbed in this settlement at Turkey Hill.

This reservation was set apart by the town of Milford as the home of the Milford Indians who had remained in the south part of that town when Ansantaway removed into Derby, at or near the Narrows on the east side of the Housatonic. And since Ansantaway removed thither nearly twenty years before Milford appropriated this one hundred acres, it is doubtful if the Indians ever resided on any part of the one hundred acres;—they resided north of it in the town of Derby upon land owned by Maj. Ebenezer Johnson, who appears never to have disturbed them. Upon this land they continued about one hundred and eighty years until the last of Molly Hatchet's children disappeared.

About forty years after the date of the first Indian deed given at Milford, the claims of some of the Derby Indians were purchased by the town of Milford.⁵

From the time of the giving of the first deed at Milford (1639) to his death in 1665 Ansantaway's name seems to have been important when attached to deeds in the sale of any lands belonging to the tribe. His son Okenuck was sachem at Stratford, and after the sale of the land at that place, to the English, he removed to the settlement already commenced by his people, at Potatuck, where the village of Shelton is now located, in the town of Huntington. Towtonamow was sachem at Derby and as such signed the deeds given in 1657,⁶ 1659,⁷ 1660,⁸ and in 1661,⁹ but

⁵ Milford quit claim deed, Oct. 2, 1682.

Conquepotana,	Muchilin,	Teunque,
Nanshoota,	Sowehoux,	Rashinoot,
Abenach,	Chipoanke,	Roucheage.
Assowas,		

⁶ Derby deed, May, 1657.

Towtanamow,	Wampegon,	James.
Raskenute,	Manomp,	

⁷ Derby deed, April, 1659.

Towtanamow,	Pagasite James,	Sasaouson.
Pagahah,	Munsock,	

⁸ Derby deed, Mar. 2, 1660.

Towtanamoe,	Succuscoge,	Sassaughough,
James, Chub,	Secochanneege,	Wauwumpecum.

⁹ Derby deed, Sept. 6, 1661.

Towtanimoe,	Yonkitihu,	Towheage. *
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seems to have died soon after the last date, since in signing a deed in 1664,¹⁰ Okenuck says he is "Sachem of Pagassett," yet Ansantaway's name is attached to this last named deed. In the same year Ansantaway is said to be "living at Pagassett," and the deed says "I, Okenuck, sachem," but at the bottom his name is written Akenauts.¹¹

The next year a deed, confirmatory of all preceding ones, was made in which it is said "I, Okenuck sole and only sagamore of Pagassett, do sell unto Richard Baldwin and his company;" giving the information that Towtanamow and Ansantaway were both dead.¹²

It may be enquired whether Okenuck retained his position of sachem over the Potatuck or Stratford Indians, while thus he became sole Sagamore at Paugassett.

On May 26, 1663, an "agreement of friendship and loving correspondence agreed upon between us and the town of Stratford" was made, by which the Indians pledged "we will no more plant on the south side of the great River Pugusett [Potatuck] to prevent a ground of future variance between us in order to [avoid] any damage that might be done to corn." The first name on the deed is "Okenunge,"¹³ thus denoting his standing over the Indians on that side of the river, but he may have signed it as Sagamore while they had another sachem. It also reveals a benevolent feature in the character of these Indians. Much complaint by the Indians had been made that the white men's hogs, which pastured in the woods, destroyed the Indians' corn, and the matter being brought into Court an effort was put forth to lead the Indians to make fences around their corn, but this they could not or would not do; and hence resolved, in order to end the difficulty, not to plant on that "side of the great river," but to remove further up the river, or on the north side of the

¹⁰ Derby deed, April 4, 1664.

Okenuck,	Ansantaway,	Agonahog.
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¹¹ Derby deed, June 27, 1661.

Akenauts.	Ansantaway.
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¹² Derby deed, Sept. 15, 1665.

Ochenunge,	Chupps,	Nebawkume.
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¹³ Deed May 26, 1663.

Okenunge,	Munsuck,	Jemiogu,
Nansantaway,	Asynetmogu,	Ahuntaway,
Amantanegu,	Nompunck,	Ronuckous.

river, which they did by going to Potatuck, at the mouth of a stream by that name in Newtown, not long afterwards, and to Wesquantuck, and Pomperaug. A deed of land, "lying on the west of land already deeded to Stratford," was given in 1665,¹⁴ with Okenonge's name first as sachem, and witnessed by Ansantaway and Chipps; which also shows that Ansantaway died between April 22, 1665, and Sept. 15, 1665. Okenunck's wigwam, and hence the headquarters of the nation, was probably at this time on the "Neck" about a mile north of Birmingham Point.

It is important to view this region of country (the Naugatuck valley) in what may be called its ethnographical relations, in order to bring to view the significance and bearings of the various purchases made by the first settlers. The territory was claimed by the Paugasucks on the south, the Potatucks on the west, and the Tunxis Indians on the east. With one or other of these tribes the white man had to deal, and in Waterbury the settlers found it expedient to purchase the same lands from different tribes, without attempting to decide between their rival claims.

The first sale of land north of Milford made by the Indians was previous to 1646, and was the land on which Mr. Wakeman's men of New Haven were employed in 1642, which was on what is now Birmingham Point.¹⁵ The then Governor of New Haven is authority for the statement that this land was purchased of the Indians,¹⁶ but no deed of that sale has been found. The next purchase was made in 1653, by Mr. Goodyear and others of New Haven. It consisted of a tract of land at Paugasuck which was sold to Richard Baldwin and nine other men of Milford in the spring of 1654, and a settlement was made at that time of three or four families: and the name of the place established by the General Court the next spring was Paugasset. All this land lay east of the Naugatuck, but no deed of the sale of it has been seen.

In May, 1657, a deed of land on what is now Birmingham

¹⁴ Deed April 22, 1665.

Okenonge,

Ansantaway,

Chipps.

¹⁵ Hist. Derby, 2-4.

¹⁶ New Haven Col. Rec., I, 265.

Point was given to Lieut. Thomas Wheeler of Stratford, if he would settle upon it, which he did, and remained there until 1664. This deed was re-affirmed in 1659, and in 1665, when Okenuck had become "sole and only Sagamore;" he confirmed the Good-year purchase and this land given to Wheeler, making the western boundary of the plantation the great river (Housatonic) instead of the Naugatuck as at first. From this time forward the Paugasuck Indians sold land piece by piece, northward, to the Derby people, until the town bounds reached Waterbury and Woodbury; there being twenty-five or more deeds recorded, with one hundred or more different Indian names attached; the last deed, except of reservations, being given in 1742.

"May 1680. As to Ackenack, sachem of Milford and Paugasuck who complains that he wants land, . . . no provision being made for planting land for those Indians, we do grant that they shall have a hundred acres of land laid out to them upon Coram Hill, in some convenient place, by Capt. William Fowler and Mr. John Burr; and this court also do grant the said Indians liberty to hunt, fowl and fish in Stratford bounds, Milford and Derby, any clause in the deed to the contrary notwithstanding, they doing them no damage. Also Mr. Hawley is to lay out a hundred acres of land on the other side of the river in Milford bounds, to the said Indians."¹⁷

The chief seat of the Paugasucks was for many years at the "Great Neck" between the Housatonic and the Naugatuck in the vicinity of what is now Baldwin's corners. Here they had a fort, mentioned several times in the records as the "Old Indian Fort," which was built most probably some years before the English came to the place. There was a large field at this place frequently called the "Indian Field," containing about sixty acres, and was once sold for that number of acres. These Indians built a fort on the east bank of the Housatonic, nearly half a mile above the present dam, which was established, tradition says, to keep the English from sailing up the river, and which is referred to several times in the records as the "New Indian Fort." The Indians of the Neck collected about this fort along the river bank for some years, and then removed to

¹⁷ Col. Rec., III, 55.

Wesquantook, where quite many appear to have been living in 1680, and which territory they sold in 1687 and removed westward, many of them probably to Potatuck, and some of them to Weantinock, now New Milford.

Wesquantook appears to have been the last place of residence of the Sachem Okenuck, yet he may have removed with Cockapatana to Potatuck at the mouth of the Pomperaug, where the latter chief remained probably until his death, which Lambert says occurred at his home in Derby in 1731. If his home was in Derby at his death it is difficult to surmise where it was located, unless at the mouth of Eight Mile brook, now in Oxford, at Turkey Hill, or at Wesquantook.

It is a curious fact, possibly connected with the fate of this chief, that some years ago—that is within the memory of persons now living—there resided in Goshen a white man who was habitually called “Old Kunkerpot;”—the name having been given him because he reported that while engaged in some war, he had killed an Indian by the name of Kunkerpot. It is said, however, that in later years there was an Indian in Stockbridge, Mass., named Cockapatana.

Of this Sachem, Conkapatana, there is given some account of his former life, but nothing that indicates who his father was. In a deed of land in Derby, dated in 1671,¹⁸ to which are attached the names of both Potatuck and Paugasuck Indians, that of Atrechanasett occurs, and in another dated Feb. 19, 1678,¹⁹ is the same person, allowing the customary variety of spelling in the form of Chetrenasut; and yet another two months later with Chettrenasuck²⁰ at the commencement of the deed who signs his name, at the bottom, Cockapatana, but not as Sachem, for Okenuck still holds that position. In the earlier of these two deeds, three Indians make the sale, they say, “with

¹⁸ Derby deed, 1671.

Chubbs,
Coshoshemack,
Kee Ke Sumun,

Mataquenock,
Wasawas,
Atrechanasett,

Johns,
Sasaoso.

¹⁹ Derby deed, Feb. 19, 1678.

Ahuntaway.

Chetrenasut.

Jack.

²⁰ Deed dated April 22, 1678.

Okenung, Sagamore.
Ahuntaway.
Jack.

Cockapatana, [Chetrenasuck.]
Sanquett,
Tom's Squaw.

Tom.

approbation of Okenuck Sagamore," indicating as do several other deeds that certain parcels of land were sold for the benefit of individuals, and not for the whole tribe. In the second, Tom and Tom's Squaw are signers. Tom was son of Cockapatana and was married, hence if the latter was at this time forty years of age, and died in 1731, as stated, he must have been ninety-three years of age at his death, but the probability is that he was more than forty at this signing, and hence nearly or quite one hundred at his death.

In a deed nine years later, Cockapatana is the third name, and as said in another deed, only a "gentleman Indian" and not sachem,²¹ but in 1793 it is said "we Cockapatana and Huntawa [Ahuntaway], Sachems of Paugasset,"²² thus showing their official position, probably, soon after the death of Okenuck. The last deed that Okenuck signed was April 22, 1678, and since neither Cockapatana nor Ahuntaway signed the deed in 1687 as sachems, it may be supposed that Okenuck was still living, but an aged man and not able to go abroad far, especially if, as is probable, he was then residing at Potatuck some distance further up the river, and delegated others in his place.

It may therefore be properly concluded that Okenuck died about 1690, aged about seventy years. There can be but little doubt, upon careful study, that Cockapatana belonged either to the family of Okenuck, or that of one of the Potatuck Sachems, Atterosse of 1668, or Chushamack of 1673. It will be necessary, however, to refer to these families again in the further progress of this westward Indian migration.

In 1698,²³ another deed was given covering the same territory

²¹ Deed in Derby, dated Aug. 6, 1687.

Cockapatonce,	Sunkaquene,	Waukacun,
John Banks,	Pussecokes,	Wetupaco,
Cockapatany,	Nanawaug,	Nanoques,
Meskillig,	Tackamore,	Curex.
Stastockham,	Chebrook,	

²² Derby Deed, dated Sept. 7, 1693.

Cockapatana,	Wequacuck,	Will Mashok,
Indian Jacks,	Punwon,	Huntaway.
Indian Toto,	Indian Shot,	

²³ Deed dated Aug. 15, 1698.

Neighbor Putt,	Gyouson,	Tazchun,
Cockapatouch,	Keuxon,	Rashkoinoot,
Nonawauk,	Raretoon,	Thomasseet.

as that of 1687, namely, that including Wesquantuck Indian village, called by the people of Derby the "Quaker's Farm purchase," and signed by ten new names, these added to those of the former deed gives the sum of twenty-five prominent men at that time in the tribe, with the headquarters of the tribe at Potatuck, just above the mouth of the Pomperaug river. After the sale of Wesquantuck the only land owned by the Indians along the Housatonic on the north side was their reservation at Potatuck, the northern boundary of which extended from the bend in the river Pomperaug, west to the Shepaug Falls, but they still held considerable territory in the northern part of Derby, the sales of which were affected by several deeds, the first being given in 1693,²⁴ and the last, except an island and reservations in 1711.

In the deed of 1793, Cockapatana and Ahuntaway are called Sachems, but in the deed of 1702, Cockapatana is called Saga-

²⁴ Deed dated Sept. 7, 1693.

Cockapatana,	Wequacuck,	Will Mashok,
Indian Jacks,	Punwon,	Huntawa.
Indian Toto,	Indian Shot,	

Deed dated May 6, 1798.

Cockapatana,	Ahuntaway,	Jacks.
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Two deeds dated April 16, 1700, each signed by the same.

Cockapatana,	Huntaway.
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Deed dated 1702.

Cockapatani, sagamore,	Waerashgonoot,	John Toto,
Ahuntaway, sachem,	Tisachomo,	Arkumi,
Will Doctor,	Will Toto,	Artownhood.
Rowaugasuck,		

Deed dated June 18, 1707, sixth year of Queen Anne.

Cockapatows,	Rawneton,	Weroces.
Chops,	Mashekes,	

Deed dated April 1, 1709.

Cockapatana,	Chipps,	Mamook,
Waskawakes,	Cockapatouch,	Jack.

John Minor, Justice said "Cockapatana and his son Waskawakes, alias 'Tom.'"

Deed dated March, 1710.

Cockapatana,	Sisowecum,	Rowagasook.
Will Doctor.	Powheag,	

Deed dated Jan. 31, 1710.

Nanawaug,	Meskillung,	Ackcutrout
Jack,	Mackwash,	Curens,
Charles,	Durgen,	Watakis.
Tackamore,		

more, and Ahuntaway the next name below, is said to be Sachem, which distinction is indicated elsewhere by the manner of affixing these official terms in deeds of different date. This distinction has not been noted by writers in this part of the country,—the two terms having been used indiscriminately, as indicating the same office, and this may have been the case, but the above looks otherwise. This is illustrated in the early deeds, Okenuck of Stratford, when the first Potatuck is designated as Sachem, and his brother Towtanemow as Sachem, and the father of the two, Ansantaway as Sagamore at Milford or the chief ruler of the three clans; but as soon as Towtanemow and Ansantaway were dead, Okenuck says: "I, the sole Sagamore of all the Paugasuck Indians," and immediately we find Wompegan,²³ sachem at Paugassett and Acquiomp, Sachem of the Potatucks.²⁴ How a sachem arrived to the position of Sagamore is not definitely revealed, but, the indications are, that it was by seniority of all the sachems within a certain jurisdiction or tribal combination, and if so, it may be concluded quite certainly that the Indians of Milford, Stratford, Paugasuck, and afterwards those all along the Housatonic valley in Connecticut, and up the Naugatuck to Waterbury, were under the same government as one distinct tribe, composed of a number of families governed by the sachems.

The Woodbury Indian deeds next attract attention. The second chapter of the "Woodbury History,"—it being that on the "History of the Indian Purchases," is an unfortunate production. The work that author has done for Woodbury is a magnificent monument of honor, but the Indian history part must have been the least studied although the first written. The deed given in that work as the first of Woodbury Territory, had nothing to do with that township. The author says it comprised "a territory in Litchfield and New Haven counties, nearly as large as Litch-

Statement made by Sisowecum, alias Warouth, Pequet, Will Doctor, Daupauks alias Will Toto, John Tota, Tom Toto, dated Feb. 1, 1711.

Nauawaug,	Mockwash,	Charles,
Jacob,	Curen,	Chips,
Jack,	Watakis,	Durgen.
Skilling,		

²³ Deed of Stratford, dated Sept. 9, 1661.

Wompegan, Sachem.

²⁴ Deed May 18, 1662.

Acquiomp, sachem.

field county itself, and it seems to have been the last sale of lands made by the Derby Indians in this direction, and, no doubt, covered all the territory claimed by them at the north." The deed by which Lieut. Thomas Wheeler sold this same land, bounded in the precise words of the Indian deed of 1659, says: "by estimation forty-five acres." This was land to this amount on what is now Birmingham Point, the southern part of Birmingham village. It was not the last sale by the Paugasuck Indians, since they continued to sell for fifty years, and gave over twenty deeds after this one. It was not "all the territory claimed by them at the north," since they claimed it with the Potatucks, all the way up the Housatonic river to the northern boundary of Kent. The great mystery is how this deed, the second one from the Indians recorded in Derby, should have been copied into the Woodbury records, and the *little* mystery is, that the author referred to, did not look up this matter a *little* further, when he hunted up such a mammoth amount of history for that good old town.

The first deed of Woodbury bears the name of the Sagamore Okenuck⁴⁷ of Derby, in this form "Kenonge," the difference being that it was written by another speller than the Derby scribe. The following are some of the spellings of this name on the Derby records; Okenuck, Ochenunge, Akenants, Okenug, Okenung. As given in the "Woodbury History," the spellings are: Akenotch, Kenonge. The other names attached to this deed, (allowing for different spelling,) may represent Paugasuck Indians, and the probability is that the deed was given wholly by persons of that clan, and hence the fact as noticed in the Woodbury History, that "this grant seems never to have been regarded by the Potatucks, or the settlers." This was not an unusual occurrence, for many of the deeds were given by different individuals in a tribe with consent of the sachem or sagamore, and the deeds so given represented the claims of the individuals and not the tribes. And further, the planters may have understood that they were buying only the claims of the Paugasuck Indians. In this manner several deeds of Derby lands contained

⁴⁷ Deed dated July 14, 1673.

Avomockomge,
Kenonge,

Wecuppemee,
Yocomge.

the names of Potatuck Indians, and two or three of these deeds were never afterwards regarded by the Paugasuck Indians, nor the inhabitants of Derby. The real fact is, that the Indians instituted claims for land in different places over and over, just as often repeated as there was any hope of being bought off with a consideration of any amount whatever. One deed in Derby was given and recorded of quite a tract of land where a part of the village of Seymour is now located, for the "consideration of one shilling."

By a careful examination of the names attached to the other five Woodbury deeds, and a comparison of them with the Indians of both tribes heretofore residing down the river, the mingling of their tribal claims will be further seen.²⁸ The Woodbury lands were purchased in the same way, by pieces, only fewer in number; and of the forty-five names of Indians attached to those deeds as given in the Woodbury History, one-half are names found on Derby deeds, but the former deeds are later in date and indicate that some of the Derby Indians had removed and joined the Potatucks, or that they signed the

²⁸ Woodbury Deed dated March 17, 1685-6.

Waramaukeag,	Chuhabaux [Chawbrook,]	Nemoubam,
Womoqui,	Youngamouish,	Poquanow,
Keshooshamaug,	Nuccaddamo,	Punnahun, interpreter,
[Sachem Chushumack]	Papenau,	John Banks,

It is said "many others or more both of English and Indians were present at the same time."

Woodbury Deed dated Oct. 30, 1687.

Kesoshamaug, Sagamore,	Tantamohoh,	Youngstockum,
Nanawauk,	Chevoramauge,	Chohees.
Wonokequambomb,	Punhone.	

Woodbury Deed dated May 18, 1700.

Wambummaug,		Seawweag.
Nucquoillozomaug,	Umbouge,	Nannawake,
Mashagasse,	John Banks,	Wombummaug, his squaw,
Cacapattanees Son,	Momanchewaug, alias Cush,	Wunnuntcone.

Woodbury Deed dated Oct. 25, 1705.

Tomseet,	Cotsure, [afterwards Cotshure, and then Corkscrew.]
Chyiondge,	Wapumbom.

Woodbury Deed dated May 28, 1706, confirmatory of the others.

Nunnawaoke,	Wussebucome,	Kehore,
Tummaseet,	Accomy,	Noegoshemy,
Chesquaneag,	Wirasquancot,	Munmenepoosqua,
Mauquash,	Wussockannunckqueen,	Muttanumace.

Woodbury deeds in behalf of the Paugasucks. When the five deeds were executed there remained a small tract of land in the southwest corner of Woodbury as a reservation to the Indians.

That part of it in the southwest corner, west of the Shepaug river below the falls, was sold Mar. 6, 1728-9, the deed being executed by Mauquash, Cockshure, and Conkararum, in presence of Chob, John Chob, Passacoran and their English witnesses. On the 18th of June, 1733, the Indians conveyed to a committee of Woodbury about one-half of the reservation, and on the 3d of January, next year, about one-half of the remainder; both of the deeds being signed by Quiump (a recurrence of the Sachem's name of seventy years before), Cockshure, Maucheere, and Naucathora. Here on the remaining little portion of land, on which was situated their last village, called the Potatuck wigwams, they dwelt being visited here by the Moravian missionaries, in 1742 or 3; until in 1758, when they parted with their much cherished Potatuck, and took their march westward.




THE GORGE IN THE GLEN AT HIGH ROCK.
(See Page 45.)



CHAPTER III.

INDIAN DEEDS OF THE NAUGATUCK VALLEY.

HE same year that Lieut. Wheeler received his deed of land on Birmingham Point (1657), a transfer of land took place in the upper part of the valley, which found record in a curious deed preserved in the town records of Farmington. Two of the Farmington settlers, Stanley and Andrews by name, in their excursions to the West had discovered somewhere a deposit of plumbago or something which they mistook for that valuable mineral. Their discovery attracted some attention, and doubtless led to the purchase just referred to, the deed being made on the eighth of February, (O. S.,) by Repaquamp, Querrimus, and Mataneage, and the land was sold to William Lewis and Samuel Steele. The document is as follows:

“ This witnesseth that we, Repaquamp and Querrimus and Mataneage, have sold to William Lewis and Samuel Steele of Farmington, a parcel or tract of land called Matecacoke, that is to say, the hill from whence John Stanley and John Andrews brought the black-lead, and all the land within eight miles of that hill on every side,—to dig and carry away what they will, and to build on it for the use of them that labor there, and not otherwise to improve the land. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands ; and these Indians above mentioned must free the purchasers from all claims by any other Indians.”

This piece of territory sixteen miles in diameter, was purchased by Lewis and Steele in behalf of themselves and a company composed of other inhabitants of Farmington. For what “consideration” it was disposed of is not known. “Precisely where the hill referred to was situated,” says Mr. George C. Woodruff in his “History of the town of Litchfield,” “I have been unable to discover ; but from the subsequent claims of the grantees, from tradition and from the deed itself, it would seem

that it was in the southern part of Harwinton." The name of Mattatuck still survives in that part of the valley. From a supplementary deed given some years afterwards, it appears that "a considerable part" of this tract was comprised within the bounds of ancient Woodbury; but the Waterbury planters, as will be seen, paid no regard to this early transaction, nor do they seem to have been any way hampered by it.

The deed of Lewis and Steele was made, as has been observed, in 1657. At that date Farmington had been settled seventeen years, and the forests to the westward had become familiar ground to the Farmington hunters. From year to year they continued their excursions, and in course of time the Naugatuck river became well known to them. Their attention was particularly attracted to the so-called "interval lands" which now constitute the meadows of Waterbury. For obvious reason, such lands were specially valuable in a forest-clad region. Their discovery was duly reported and was enough to arouse the spirit of enterprise. A committee was sent to examine the place, and their report being favorable, the Farmington people petitioned the General Court for permission to make a settlement, "at a place called by the Indians, Matitacooke." This was in 1673, nineteen years after the first settlers took up their residence at Derby.

After due investigation the petition was granted, and a committee of prominent men of the Colony was appointed "to regulate and order the settling of a plantation at Mattatuck." One of their first duties was to procure the extinguishment of any title to the land on the part of the native proprietors, which they did by honest purchase. A copy of the deed given to this committee by the Indians is preserved in the land records of Waterbury (vol. II.) and is dated August 26, 1674.

It was to this purchase the first settlers came in 1674, and again, after a serious interruption, in 1677. The dimensions of the town remained as indicated until 1684, when they were greatly extended by the purchase from the native proprietors of a large piece of territory on the north.

By this purchase, which cost the proprietors nine pounds, the area of the town was nearly doubled. But it seems to have become necessary at the same time, to buy again from the natives

the tract already bought by the committee of the General Court of 1674. The original owners may have claimed that they did not comprehend the significance of their act, and were not adequately paid ; but for whatever reason, Messrs. Judd and Stanley, on the second of December, 1684, purchased again the land lying between Mount Taylor on the north and Beacon Hill brook on the south, extending eastward to Farmington bounds, and westward three miles towards Woodbury. The amount paid this time was nine pounds.

These deeds have been examined carefully, to obtain if possible some items of knowledge concerning the aboriginal owners, who are described in one of the deeds as "Indians now belonging to Farmington." The earliest deed (that of 1674), contains the names of fourteen Indians, eleven of whom (if the copy has been correctly made) affixed to it their mark. The first name is that of Nesaheagon, the Sachem at Poquonnock, whose jurisdiction has already been described. The occurrence of his signature here indicates what position he held in relation to the Tunxis tribe. The second name is John Compound, which, if not of English origin, has been forced into a strange resemblance to English. He has been handed down to immortality as the original proprietor of Compound's (Compounce) Pond. The third name is Queramoush, which has already been met with, in the deed of 1657 ; for it was Querrimus with two other Indians, who deeded to Lewis and Steele the land around the "hill where John Stanley found the black-lead." The other names in the order in which they occur are as follows : Spinning Squaw, Taphow, Chery, Aupkt, Caranchaquo, Patucko, Atumtako, James, Uncowate, Nenapush Squaw, and Alwaush. To those who hear them, these names are a meaningless jargon ; but it is pleasant to think that originally every one of them meant something, and that some of the meanings may have been beautiful. In studying them upon the time-stained pages where they are preserved, one or two points of interest have been discovered. One of the prominent names in the list is Patucko, who will be referred to again. Next to this follows Atumtucko. A relation between the two was suspected and this was afterward confirmed by finding in another deed that Patucko's Squaw was Atumtucko's mother. In signing this first deed Patucko first

promises for James, and then for himself; whence it may safely be inferred that between Patucko and James, who seems to have been well known by his English name, there was some kind of family relationship. It is possible that Caranchaquo may have been a member of the same family.

Between this first deed and that by which the northern half of the town was disposed of, nearly ten years elapsed, so that it would hardly be expected to find precisely the same signatures attached to both, even if Indian society had been more stable than it was. In the second deed Patucko's name stands first and Atumtucko's second; then Taphow, then Wawowus. This fourth name sounds like a new one, but making due allowance for inaccurate hearing and spelling on the part of the early scribes, it may be easily identified with Alwauish in the former list. The rest of the signers are new: Judas (another English name), Mantow, Momantow's Squaw, Mercy (Sepuses's Squaw) and Quatowquechuck, who is described as Taphow's son.

Between this second deed and the third, by which the southern half of the town was sold the second time to the settlers, a few months only elapsed, but the names for the most part are different. Patucko has disappeared, but we have in his stead Patucko's squaw, who is here described as Atumtucko's mother. John a-Compound appears again, and Warm Compound appears, who is described as Nesaheag's son. This fact suggests that John a-Compound, whose name stands next to Nesaheagon's in the first deed, may have been an elder son of the same chief. Spinning Squaw also appears, and Aupkt under the form of Abuckt; and besides these, there is Mantow, who signed not the first deed, but the second. In addition the following appear: Hachetowsock (and squaw, Sebockett,) the sisters of Cooesen, whoever he may be, and a daughter of one of them. It is probable that Cooesen's sisters were the daughters of James; apparently the same James, for whom Patucko promised in the first deed. As one of them was Patucko's squaw and Atumtucko's mother, a connection between the two families is established; a connection which becomes especially interesting when it is known who James was.

But as already intimated, the Tunxis Indians were not the only claimants. The Paugasucks on the south roamed over the

same hunting grounds, and considered their right to them as valid as that of their neighbors on the east. Messrs. Judd and Stanley, without inquiring particularly into the justice of the claim, deemed it expedient to extinguish it by purchase. A deed was accordingly drawn, dated February 28, 1685, and signed by sixteen Paugasuck Indians, by which in consideration of "six pound in hand received" twenty parcels of land,¹ named and described in the deed, all of them apparently embraced in the first and third purchases from the Farmington Indians, were conveyed to the settlers of Mattatuck.

The deed which is contained in the volume of land records referred to, is peculiarly interesting because the twenty parcels of land are designated each by its Indian name. Nine of these were on the east side of the river, the others on the west side. The grantors were sixteen in number. Prominent in the list is the name of Conquepatana, (Konkapatanauh,) who signs himself Sagamore, the same already spoken of as Sachem at the mouth of the river, until 1731, when he died. In the body of

¹ Deed from the Paugasuck Indians.

"Twenty parcels of land, by their names distinguished as follows:

Wecobemeus, that land upon the brook, or small river that comes through the straight [Straitsville] northward of Lebanon, and runs into Naugatuck river at the south end of Mattatuck bounds, called by the English Beacon Hill Brook, and Packawackuck, or Agawacomuck, and Watapeck, Pacaquarock, Mequnhattacke, Musquaue, Mamusquinke, Squapmasutte, Wachu, which nine parcels of land lie on the east side of Naugatuck River southward from Mattatuck town, which comprises all the land below, betwixt the forementioned river, Beacon Hill Brook and the hither end of Judd's meadows, called by the name Squontk, and from Naugatuck River eastward to Wallingford and New Haven bounds, with all the lowlands upon the two brooks forementioned.

And eleven parcels on the west side; the first parcel called, Suracasko; the rest as follows: Petowtucki, Wequarunsh, Capage, Cocumpasuck, Megenhuttack, Panooctan, Mattuckhott, Cocacoko, Gawuskesucko, Towantuck, [the only name that has survived], and half the cedar swamp, with the land adjacent from it eastward; which land lies southward of Quasapaug pond; we say to run an east line from there to Naugatuck river; all of which parcels of land forementioned lying southward from said line, and extend or are comprised within the butments following; from the forementioned swamp, a strait line to be run to the middle of Towantuck Pond or the cedar swamp, a south line which is the west bounds towards Woodbury, and an east line from Towantuck pond, to be the butment south, and Naugatuck river the east butment, till we come to Achetaqupag, or Maruscopag, and then to butt upon the east side of the river upon the forementioned lands,—these parcels of land lying and being within the township of Mattatuck, bounded as aforesaid, situate on each side of Naugatuck and Mattatuck rivers."

the deed, however, his name is preceded by that of Awowas. Already among the signers of the second deed an Awowas has appeared, apparently identified with Alwauash, who signed the first. It might naturally be supposed that the name occurring among the Paugasucks, designated a different person, but there are facts which establish a connection between the two tribes. For among the signers of this Paugassetts deed there is found the name Coccoesen, and not only so but Coccoesen's sisters also, who signed the third deed given by the Tunxis tribe. Their names are Wechamunk and Werumcaske, and in the Tunxis deed they are described as the daughters of James. In the deed given to Lieut. Wheeler at Paugassetts in 1757, occurs the name Pagassetts James. It is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that Coccoesen was his son, and Coccoesen's sisters his daughters, that one of these was Patucko's squaw, that a connection by marriage between the two tribes was thus established, and that this relationship was recognized in the various sales of lands. Besides the names thus far mentioned, there are the following: Curan, Cocapadous (Konkapot-oos, perhaps little Konkapot), Tataracum, Cacasahum, Wenuntacum, Arumpiske, described as Curan's squaw, Notanumke, Curan's sister.

To this instrument the following note is attached: "Milford February, 1684. Awowas, the Indian proprietor, appeared at my house and owned this deed above mentioned to be his free act, and that he has signed and sealed to it. Robert Treat governor." On the 18th of April, Conquepatana made a similar acknowledgment of the deed before the governor "and said he knew what was in it." Several years afterward (June 28, 1711), the same Sagamore and "Tom Indian" his son, for twenty-five shillings, deeded to the proprietors of Waterbury, "a small piece of land" north of Derby bounds, west of the Naugatuck river, and south of Toantuck brook.

The original owners of all the land in the Naugatuck valley, above the old Derby line, (and those below partially,) have thus far been traced, except of what lies in Harwinton and Litchfield. This territory has a history of its own. On January 25, 1687, the General Court of Connecticut, for the purpose of saving the so-called "western lands" from the grasp of Sir Edmund Andros, conveyed to the towns of Hartford and Windsor as follows:

"Those lands on the north of Woodbury and Mattatuck, and on the west of Farmington and Simsbury, to the Massachusetts line north, and to run west to the Housatunock or Stratford river."² As has already been seen, a portion of this territory, sixteen miles in diameter, had been conveyed in 1657 to William Lewis and Samuel Steele of Farmington. The General Court in its action in 1686, paid no regard to this old conveyance, and on the other hand the Farmington company, represented by Lewis and Steele, insisted on their claim. On the eleventh of August, 1714, they obtained from the successors of the original grantors a deed by which the title to this whole tract was conveyed, "in consideration of the sum of eight pounds received from Lieut. John Stanley about the year 1687, and other gratuities lately received," to Stanley Lewis, Ebenezer Steele, and their associates and successors. To Lieut. Stanley, in especial, fifty acres were laid out and confirmed, near the hill where he found the blacklead, "and fifty acres more where he shall see cause to take it up, or his heirs." This deed was signed by Pethuzo and Toxcronuck, who claimed to be the successors of Kapaquamp, Querrimus, and Mattaneag, and in the following October it was signed by Taphow the younger, and his squaw, by Awowas, whose name (written also in this same deed Wowowis) has been previously noticed, and Petasas, a female grand child, probably of Awowas. By the action of the General Court, the title to all this land had been vested in the towns of Hartford and Windsor, and these towns therefore claimed the exclusive right to purchase the Indian title and to survey and sell the lands.³ In the final settlement of the matter, however, the claim of the Farmington company was to some extent recognized. In 1718 they received from the two towns a grant of one-sixth of the township of Litchfield, in consideration of their making over to said towns their interest in the disputed territory.

² Conn. Col. Rec., III., 225.

³ These lands were claimed by Connecticut under its then existing charter, and fearing lest Andros might wrest them from the state and sell them to others, or another Colony, the General Court gave them to the towns of Hartford and Windsor, to hold until the danger should be past, with the private understanding that the lands should revert to the state as soon as the danger should be past. When the danger was past these towns would not surrender the lands, but claimed them as their property. It was one of the clearest cases of betrayal of trust that ever occurred in the settlement of the country, and will be a lasting disgrace to the actors.

The management of these western lands was entrusted to a joint committee appointed by the towns. In 1715 this committee entered upon an exploration of the region lying west of the Naugatuck River, and appointed as their agent Mr. John Marsh, one of their number, who in May of that year undertook what was then a perilous journey into a pathless wilderness. When the committee had concluded to commence a settlement, they proceeded to purchase the Indian title to the lands. But they did not recognize any claim to these lands on the part of the Tunxis tribe, but applied instead to the Potatucks, from whom the settlers of Woodbury had made their various purchases, who had their chief village, at that time on the Housatonic, at the mouth of the Pomperaug. Mr. Thomas Seymour, a member of the joint committee of the towns, visited Woodbury in January, 1716, and again in May, and obtained the necessary deed. "In consideration of the sum of fifteen pounds money in hand received," the Potatucks sold a tract of land lying north of the Waterbury and Woodbury limits, bounded on the east by the Naugatuck River, on the west by the Shepaug and its east branch, and on the north by a line running from the north end of Shepaug Pond easterly to the Naugatuck. It comprised nearly 45,000 acres.⁴

The witnesses were Weroamaug (whose name is familiar to many as connected with a beautiful lake in New Preston and Warren), Wagnaeng and Tonhocks. Among the names of signers appears the name Corkscrew, which has a very civilized sound. It was originally Cocksure or Cotsure. Comparing these names with the names attached to the Woodbury purchase of May 28, 1706, it appears that although that deed precedes this by ten years, yet several of the names are the same in both. Chusquunoag appears in the earlier deeds as Chesquaneag (or Cheshconeag of Pagasset); Magnash is evidently an error of the copy-

⁴ This deed, dated May 2, 1716, was signed by twelve Indians, and witnessed by three others.

Witnesses.

Weroamaug,
Waguacug,
Tonhocks.

Signers.

Chusquunoag,	Poni,
Quiump,	Wonposet,
Maquash,	Suckqunockqueen,
Kehow,	Tawseume,
Sepunkum,	Mansumpaush,
Corkscrew,	Norquotonckquy.



JUNCTION OF THE HOUSATONIC AND NAUGATUCK RIVERS.



ist for Maquash⁵ (or Mauquash of Pagassett); Kehow appears as Kehore, Sepunkum as Wusebucome, Suckquunockqueen, as Wussockanunckqueen, and in a still earlier deed, Corkscrew as Cotsure. It appears that Quiump, under the form of Aquiomp, was also the name of the sachem of the Potatucks in 1661, at Pomperaug. As that was fifty-five years before this, it was probably not the same person, although possibly a relative. Such identifications as these are of but little account to the world to-day, but to the explorer of ancient records, preparing the way for the more stately historian, they are as interesting, and perhaps as valuable as the discoveries of the modern genealogist or the devotee of heraldry.

It thus appears that the aboriginal ownership of the Naugatuck valley was divided among three quite distinct tribes, and that the claims of these tribes were recognized by the early settlers. It would be interesting to consider the nature of this primitive proprietorship, for it has decided bearings upon the great modern question of the origin of property, and the significance of that "institution" in the history of civilization. It was said by Sir Edmund Andros that Indians deeds were "no better than the scratch of a bear's paw," and there are those at the present day who, for different reasons from those which shaped the opinions of Andros, would deny that the aboriginal ownership of the soil was of any account whatever. Because their system was a kind of communism, their rights amount to nothing in the eyes of these modern thinkers. The early settlers, however, either from a sense of justice, or out of regard to expediency, and possibly somewhat of both, made it a rule to extinguish the titles of the natives by actual purchase; and now, in their recorded deeds with signatures, is treasured up a large part of the only history the world will ever have of the Red man of the forest. And when the value of the money of that day is considered, the unimproved condition of the lands, and the fact that in almost all cases the grantors reserved either large sections as hunting grounds, or else the right to hunt everywhere, as before the sale, it can hardly be said that the Indians were dealt with unfairly. The late Chief-Justice Church

⁵ Mauquash, the last sachem of the Potatucks, died about 1758, says Woodbury History. Gideon Mawwehu had them removed to Kent.

of Litchfield, in his centennial address in 1851, commented severely upon the action of the early settlers in this respect, but he seems to have looked at the subject in an unjudicial way. The other side is strongly presented in Doct. Bronson's "History of Waterbury."⁶

The Indian usually reserved, or supposed he reserved, the right to hunt and fish everywhere, the same as before the lands were sold. In most of the towns he remained harmless and unmolested in the neighborhood of the settlements, from generation to generation. The relations of the aboriginal inhabitants to the whites are well illustrated in the statements of an aged citizen of Farmington, who died within the present century, and who was born about 1730, "that within his recollection the Indian children in the district schools were not much fewer than those of the whites. In their snow-balling parties the former took one side and the latter the other, when they would be so equally balanced in numbers and prowess as to render the battle a very tough one and the result doubtful." But however good the intentions of the white man may have been, the transformation of the wilderness into a fruitful field must go steadily on, and the Red man must inevitably fall back, seeking new hunting grounds. For example, the Paugasucks of the sea-coast removed inland, as we have seen, and made their principal seat at the lower end of the Naugatuck valley, which thus became practically a new settlement, which was their headquarters from about 1660 to about 1680, when they began to collect at Wesquantuck and to join the Potatucks at Pomperaug. After the death of their Sachem, Konkapatana, who resided some years at Wesquantuck or Pomperaug, or at both places, the local tribe broke up, and as such became extinct, except those who settled at Chusettown.

"Some joined the Potatucks," it is said. Quite a number must have done so, since nearly half the names given in the Woodbury History as being Potatucks were Paugasuck Indians and signers of the Derby deeds. Those who collected at the Falls on the Naugatuck, were there earlier as well as in greater numbers than has usually been supposed, as indicated by the extent of their burying-grounds and the remnants that were left some time after 1800. "Some went to the country of the six nations." This is quite probable, for, "in the spring of 1831, a

⁶ History pp. 64. 65.

company of Indians, consisting of about thirty, men, women, and children, from the shores of Lake Champlain, came to the Point at Milford and encamped for a number of days, perhaps fifteen. They were led by an old patriarch or chieftain of 'eighty summers' whom they appeared to obey and reverence. They conversed in the Indian tongue, and some of them knew but little English. They had a tradition that some of their ancestors lived at Poconic Point, and said they had come for the last time to the hunting ground of their fathers." These were no doubt descendants of the Paugasuck tribe, whose ancestors had removed from Milford to Turkey Hill, Paugassett, and Potatuck, and who went back yearly from these places to Milford to catch and dry oysters, "spending a summer at a watering place." Again, "some went to Weantinock and Scattacook." Not only some or a few, but the large body of the surviving natives, from the south and east as we shall see, gathered at Weantinock, now New Milford, before 1703, and then moved on westward, first to Scatacook, then still westward. At Turkey Hill a few remained, their number growing less year by year until about 1829 when Molly Hatchet only was left, and in that year she passed to the far away hunting ground of the Indian. There are indications, indeed it is very probable that some of them removed to Stockbridge, Massachusetts. The last deed of Derby lands that Cockapatana signed was given in 1710, but his son, Waskawakes (*alias* Tom), signed a deed given by the Potatucks in 1706, indicating thereby his active part in the business transactions of that tribe, and it would not be surprising if Waskawakes was Wauramaug of New Milford. In 1724, the Stockbridge Indians gave a deed of land which was signed by Konkapot and twenty other Indians. In 1734, Konkapot received a Captain's commission from the Massachusetts government; in 1735, he was baptized in the Christian faith, and he died previous to 1770, one of the first fruits of the Housatonic Mission, of which the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, born in Waterbury, was the founder. Konkapot's name became celebrated through the northern part of Litchfield county, and is perpetuated, after a fashion, in connection with one of the streams of Stockbridge, which was originally called Konkapot's brook. It was afterwards known as Konk's brook, and afterwards went down ingloriously to "Skunk's brook."

¹ Lambert, p. 30.

CHAPTER IV.

FURTHER AUTHENTIC RECORDS.



PROGRESS in disintegration and decay in the native tribes may be traced a little further by the examination of documents and records. Mr. J. W. DeForest, in his "History of the Indians of Connecticut," a book which, after all deductions are made, is a remarkable production for a youth of one-and-twenty years, makes the following remarks upon the retirement of the Red men before the aggressive race that had landed on their shores :

Knowing little of European modes of life, and judging of the colonists greatly by themselves, they supposed that the latter would cultivate but a little land, and support themselves for the rest by trading, fishing, and hunting. Little did they think that in the course of years the white population would increase from scores to hundreds, and from hundreds to thousands ; that the deep forests would be cut down ; that the wild animals would disappear ; that the fish would grow few in the rivers ; and that a poor remnant would eventually leave the graves of their fathers and wander away into another land. Could they have anticipated that a change so wonderful, and in their history so unprecedented, would of necessity follow the coming of the white man, they would have preferred the wampum tributes of the Pequots and the scalping-parties of the Five Nations to the vicinity of a people so kind, so peaceable, and yet so destructive.¹

Of course the natives knew not that they were parting with their homes forever ; neither did the new settlers know how swiftly their predecessors upon the soil would melt away before the glow and heat of a Christian civilization. But the process was inevitable, and in New England, at least, however it may have been elsewhere, it was as painless and as little marked by cruelty as it well could be.

Indian Slaves.

Through several documents still preserved there come before us certain Derby Indians in the peculiar character of *Slaves*.

To students of colonial history it is a known fact that not only negroes but Indians were held as slaves in New England. That

¹ Pages 164, 165.



ROCK RIMMON.

(See Pages 43 and 44.)



slavery should have existed in the colonies was almost a matter of course, in view of its recognition by the mother country. The Massachusetts code, adopted in 1641, known as the "Body of Liberties," recognized it, and provided for its regulation and restriction; and Connecticut, in its code of 1650, followed in the same path. The ninety-first article of the Massachusetts code is as follows: "There shall never be any bond-slavery, villanage, or captivity among us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, or such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us. . . . This exempts none from servitude who shall be judged thereto by authority." According to this, persons might be sold into slavery for crime; might be purchased in the regular course of trade; or might be enslaved as captives taken in war; and it will be observed that no limitation is made in reference to color or race. Probably, however, the English distinction was tacitly recognized, which allowed the enslavement of infidels and heathen, but not of Christians. The Massachusetts Court did decide that certain persons, for giving shelter to certain Quakers, should be sold into slavery, and sent out of the colony, but among English people. Of the fact that Indians became slaves in the different ways here mentioned, there is abundant evidence. In Sandwich, Massachusetts, three Indians were sold in 1678 for having broken into a house and stolen; they being unable to make recompense to the owner, the General Court authorized him to sell them. In 1660 the General Court of Connecticut was empowered by the United Colonies to send a company of men to obtain satisfaction of the Narragansetts, for an act of insolence they had committed upon the settlers. Four of the malefactors were to be demanded; and in case the persons were delivered, they were to be sent to Barbadoes and sold as slaves. In 1677 it was enacted by the General Court that if any Indian servant captured in war and placed in service by the authorities should be taken when trying to run away, it should be "in the power of his master to dispose of him as a captive, by transportation out of the country." That the regular slave trade included traffic in Indians as well as negroes appears from several enactments of the General Court. For instance, it was ordered in May, 1711, "that all slaves set at liberty by their owners, and all negro, mulatto, or Spanish Indians who are serv-

ants to masters for time, in case they come to want after they be so set at liberty, or the time of their said service be expired, shall be relieved by such owners or masters respectively." At a meeting of the Council in July, 1715, it was resolved "that a prohibition should be published against the importation of any Indian slaves whatsoever." The occasion of this was the introduction of a number of such slaves from South Carolina, and the prospect that many more were coming. In the October following, the General Court adopted an act in relation to this matter, which was a copy of a Massachusetts act of 1712, prohibiting the importation into the colony of Indian servants or slaves, on the ground of the numerous outrages committed by such persons. Of Indians captured in war, a considerable number were sold into slavery, but what proportion it would be impossible to say. It was a defensive measure, to which the colonists were impelled by the fact that they were "contending with a foe who recognized none of the laws of civilized warfare." It was resorted to in the war with the Pequots, and again in the war with King Philip.

In a manuscript, sold with the library of the late George Brinley of Hartford, namely, the account-book of Major John Talcott (1674-1688), which includes his accounts as treasurer of the colony during King Philip's war, there are some curious entries, indicating how the enslavement of Indians in certain cases originated. The following account stands on opposite pages of the ledger (pp. 54, 55):

1676. Capt. John Stanton of Stonington, Dr., To Sundry commissions gave Capt. Stanton to proceed against the Indians, by which he gained much on the sales of captives.

Contra. 1677, April 30. Per received an Indian girl of him, about seven years old, which he gave me for commission on the other side, or, at best, out of goodwill for my kindness to him.

Further light is thrown on this matter by the following documents, which are interesting also in themselves.² The first is a deed drawn in Stratford, June 8, 1722:

Know all men by these presents, that I, Joseph Gorham of Stratford, in the county of Fairfield, in the colony of Connecticut, for and in consideration of sixty pound money in hand received, and well and truly paid by Col. Ebenezer Johnson of Derby, in the county of New Haven and colony aforesaid, to my full satisfaction

² They are the property of the Hon. C. W. Gillett of Waterbury.

and content, have sold and made over to the said Ebenezer Johnson and to his heirs, executors, and assigns forever, one Indian woman named Dinah, of about twenty-six years of age, for him, the said Johnson, his heirs, executors, and assigns, to have, hold, and enjoy the said Indian woman Dinah as his and their own proper estate from henceforth forever, during the said Dinah's life ; affirming the said Dinah to be my own proper estate, and that I have in myself full power and lawful authority to sell and dispose of the said Dinah in manner as aforesaid, and that free and clear of all incumbrances whatsoever. In witness I set to my hand and seal in Stratford, this eighth day of June, in the year of our Lord God, 1722.

SAMUEL FRENCH,

Attorney for Capt. Gorham.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us,

JOHN CURTISS,

JOHN LEAVENWORTH.

The second document traces Dinah's history a little further. It is dated at Derby, November 22, 1728. Before this date Col. Johnson had died, and this is the deed by which his widow disposes of a part of the estate to her son Timothy :

Know all men by these presents, that I, Hannah Johnson, widow of the late deceased Colonel Ebenezer Johnson of Derby, in the county of New Haven, in the colony of Connecticut, in New England, for the parental love and good-will which I have towards my beloved son, Timothy Johnson of Derby, in the county and colony aforesaid, and for divers other good and well-advised considerations me thereunto moving, have given and do by these presents fully, freely, and absolutely give, grant, and confirm unto my beloved son, Timothy Johnson, him, his heirs and assigns forever : that is to say, one Indian woman called Dinah, and also a feather bed that he hath now in possession, and by these presents I, the said Hannah Johnson, do give, grant, and confirm and firmly make over the above named Dinah and feather bed, with all their privileges and profits ; and unto him the said Timothy Johnson, his heirs and assigns forever, to have and to hold ; to occupy, use, and improve, as he, the said Timothy Johnson, his heirs and assigns, shall think fit, without any interruption, trouble, or molestation any manner of way given by me, the said Hannah Johnson, or any of my heirs, executors, or administrators, or any other person or persons from, by, or under me. And furthermore, I, the said Hannah Johnson, do by these presents, for myself, my heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and promise to and with the said Timothy Johnson, his heirs and assigns, that we will forever warrant and defend him, the said Timothy Johnson, his heirs and assigns, in the peaceable and quiet possession and enjoyment of the above named Dinah and feather bed against the lawful claims and demands of all persons whomsoever. In confirmation of all the above mentioned particulars, I, the said Hannah Johnson, have hereunto set my hand and seal this 22d day of November, in the second year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, King George the Second, and in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight.

HANNAH JOHNSON.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of

JOSEPH HULLS,

CHARLES JOHNSON.

Derby, November 22, 1728. This day Hannah Johnson, the subscriber of the above written instrument, personally appeared and acknowledged this to be her own free act and deed, before me.

JOSEPH HULLS, Justice of the Peace.

At no time in the history of American slavery has the recognition of human beings as chattels been more complete than it is in this old document, in which "the Indian woman Dinah" and "the fether bed" are classed together in so unceremonious a way.

That the purchase of Dinah in 1722 was not Col. Johnson's first experience in slaveholding, is evidenced by another document pertaining to the Indian literature of the Naugatuck valley, also in the possession of Judge Gillett. It is a brief paper from the hand of Colonel Johnson, relating to an Indian named "Tobe,"³ and certifying to his manumission. It is given just as recorded :

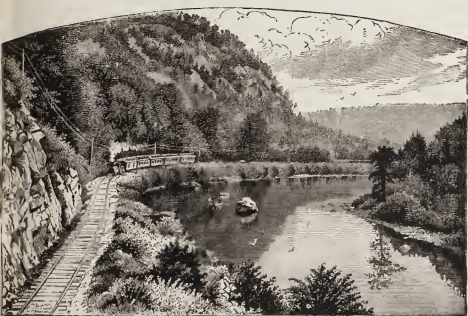
these may certifi whome it may consarn that tobee a Ingan that lived with me I had of a Moheg Indian at new london 307 years agoo he lived with me 12 year and is now and has bin a free man ever senc. october the 6 1713. Ebenezer Johnson.

This paper informs us that thirty-seven years before the date of it, Col. Johnson obtained this Indian, that is in 1676; kept him as a slave twelve years, and then made him a free man.

There is a deed given by Cockapatana and Ahuntaway, as sachems, and six other Indians, of land at the place still known as Toby's Rock, deeded to this same Toby, in which he is said to be "a Narragansett Indian, formerly servant unto Capt. Ebenezer Johnson of Derby." The deed is dated September 7, 1693.

The whole record therefore shows that Toby was taken in the time of King Philip's war, 1676; that he was held as a slave twelve years, and made free in 1688; received the tract of land in 1693 from the Naugatuck Indians, "in consideration of ten pounds and a barrel of cider," and in 1713 the certificate was given. What circumstances called for such a paper as that, is very uncertain, but possibly the fact that he had petitioned or was about to petition the legislature for a patent of his land, in the same manner as the town had petitioned for one. In such a matter proof that he was a free man was of importance. And

³ This name was originally pronounced in one syllable with long o.



THE RIVER JUST ABOVE HIGH ROCK GROVE.



what reason the town had for opposing Toby's petition, as it did, is not manifest.

The traditional account of Toby is, that, Capt.¹ Ebenezer Johnson being sent in command of a squad of soldiers to subdue some Indians, did his work so thoroughly, as was his custom, that not an Indian was left except the dead on the battlefield. The fight, it is said, ended at dusk, and the Captain and his company slept that night on the field where the conflict had taken place during the day. Early the next morning he walked out upon the battlefield and while he stood viewing the scene he felt something clinging to his feet, and looking down he saw a little Indian boy looking up in a most pitiful manner. This was Toby, and the Captain took him and kept him as his slave.

The deed says he was a Mohegan Indian, and Capt. Johnson says he obtained him of a "Moheg Indian." The Captain was probably sent in the Indian war to New London or its vicinity, and there obtained the boy, who grew to be an honor to himself, his tribe, his benefactor, and his adopted town.

But Toby did not tarry long in the land of the living although long enough to engrave his name high on what is called "Toby's Rock," on the west side of Naugatuck River, near "High Rock Grove." His kindred were, no doubt, lost to him on some battlefield, and the time of his orphan sojourn was filled with honor and manly work, when he went forward to the unknown country to find those who had gone before him; and he gave his land, which was divided according to his will, in 1734, to Timothy Wooster, Peter Johnson, Ebenezer Johnson, and Timothy Johnson; all but Wooster being sons of Capt. Ebenezer Johnson. These were to him as kindred. If there be no future awards, what a world of injustice, inequality and unrequited suffering the present one is.

The will of Toby was contested by the selectmen of the town, which seems very strange, since if the Indian deeds given to the town were good, the one given to Toby was just as good.

In 1709, Major² Johnson sold another Indian girl, placing her in a vastly more satisfactory relation, according to modern ideas, than either of the other sales effected. The Indians in

¹ He was Captain at that time.

² He was Major then.

deeding a certain tract of land, say: "On account of a Squaw Sarah, sold unto said Chetrenasut and three pounds, ten shillings in hand received of Mayor Johnson of Derby." This tract of land was "lying in a place called Nayumps, bounded northerly with Beacon Hill River, easterly with Milford, westerly with Naugatuck River, south with Lebanon River." This was a happy sale, probably, because the Indian Chetrenasut obtained a bride. The estimated value of this squaw was seven pounds, which was not a third part of the value of an ordinary slave woman at that time, and hence the transaction may be generously supposed to have partaken somewhat of benevolence in making her free.

The deed given to the Indian Toby is the link which connects him with High Rock, at the foot of which is High Rock Grove, a place of great resort for summer visitors and parties on pic-nic excursions. This deed is dated September 7th, 1693, and sets forth that Cockapatana and Huntaway, sachems of Paugasuck (the original name of Derby), and certain others "in the name of all the Indians of Paugasuck, for and in consideration of ten pounds and a barrel of cider, paid and secured, with which we do acknowledge ourselves fully satisfied,"

sell unto Toby a Narragansett Indian formerly servant unto Capt. Ebenezer Johnson of Derby, . . . a certain tract of land, bounded north with Chestnut-tree Hill and Lopus rocks, east with Naugatuck River against Beacon Hill, west with the Little River against Thomas Wooster's land, and southward with Rimmon Hill and Rimmon Hill rocks, pointing into the Little River, and from the upper end of Rimmon Hill through Lopus plain, running between two ponds in Lopus plain, through the hill swamp, and so to Naugatuck River, unto the said Toby his heirs and assigns forever.⁶

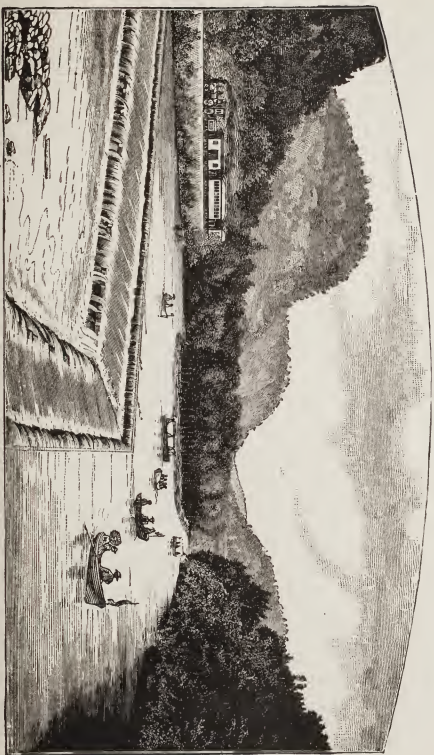
This piece of territory is mentioned afterward in the records of the town (for example, in 1700 and 1708) as "Toby's land," or "Toby Indian's purchase." It seems to have contained a swamp called Squantuck Swamp, which was deeded to Toby a

⁶ Derby Deed dated Sept. 7, 1693.

Cockapatana,
Indians Jacks,
Indian Toto,

Wequacuk,
Punwan,
Indian Shot,

Will Mashok,
Huntawa.

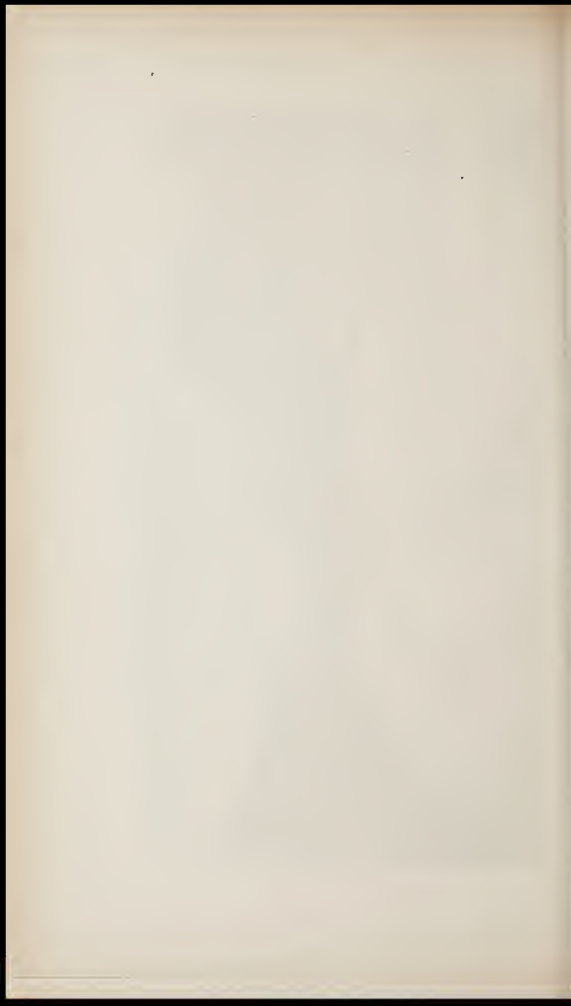


HIGH ROCK.

BEACON FALLS DAM.

HIGH ROCK GROVE.

THE RIVER AT HIGH ROCK GROVE. NAVIGATOR'S RAILROAD.



second time in 1707. This deed speaks of him as "an Indian that lives with the English, brought up by Mayor Johnson from a boy."

It might not be impossible to establish certain points in the subsequent history of this friendly Indian; but the important fact to be noticed here is that his (English) name has survived to the present time, in connection with the towering rock which rises to the south of High Rock Glen. For a hundred and fifty years past, when people in the vicinity have spoken of Toby's Rock, they have paid their unconscious tribute to the memory of a man who represented the Red face in contact with the White, and represented it in its most marked vicissitudes, a man who was almost from the first the white man's captive and slave, and to the last the white man's friend.

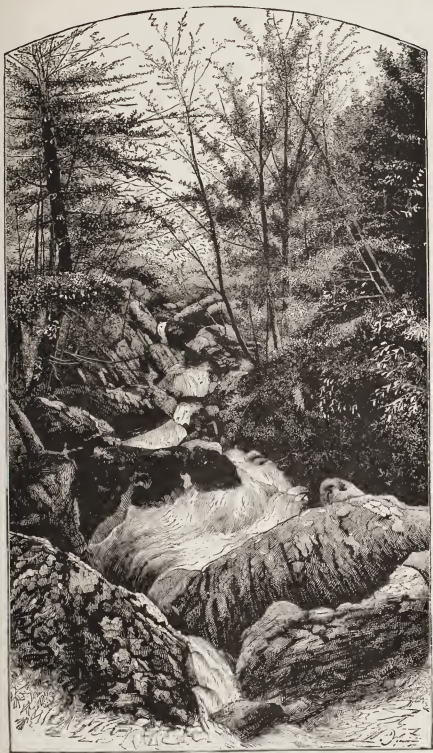
The region of country where Toby's Rock is located is wild, romantic, picturesque, and attractive to travelers. It lies on the Naugatuck River, between the villages of Seymour and Naugatuck. The Rock spoken of is on the west side of the river, the foot of it crowding down, steep to the river, scarcely leaving room for the railroad as appears in the accompanying engraving. Between the southern end of High Rock is a deep gorge called some years since, "Sherman's Gorge," but now "High Rock Glen," through which flows quite a brook and from the scenery of which several views, herewith presented, are taken. On the east side of the river the hill is abrupt and rises to a considerable height, along the foot of which there is space only for a highway, which is cut into the side of the hill and rock, and is therefore called the "dug road."

While ascending the river by railroad from Ansonia, the first prominent height seen is Castle Rock on the west side of the river just before reaching the village of Seymour, where it stands in all the grandeur of its ancient days, looking down upon the Falls of the Naugatuck, as it did when the Red man of the valley made that his chief fishing-place. This rock is about two hundred feet in height and without trees or shrubbery, although some years ago it was covered with forest. Passing above the village of Seymour, Rock Rimmon rises in sight on the east side of the river, jutting out in the middle of the valley from the north, and rising to the height of four hundred feet, as if it were the fore-

most tower in an embattlement of hills, to defy the northward progress of an army of railroads. When this rock is seen from Great Hill several miles at the south, it appears to be on the confines of a boundless wilderness and this appearance, perhaps, suggested the name it bears, as brought to mind in a very ancient historical declaration, upon the defeat of a great army. "And they turned and fled toward the wilderness unto the Rock of Rimmon."⁷ On the west side of the river from Seymour, northward for two miles the scenery is wild and hilly, but after this the hills disappear so as to allow the coming of two brooks into the Naugatuck, and some little valley land at the place called Pines Bridge. At the upper end of this little opening of the hills is Beacon Falls village, just above which at the Beacon Falls Dam, the hills close in, leaving little more than space for the river and the roads, and then again the scenery becomes wild and rocky. On the west side of the river the hills rise very abruptly to the height of three and four hundred feet, the rocks standing out in promontories successively, in a curve until they reach High Rock, which has an elevation above the river of four hundred and seventy-five feet, and from which northward the hills gradually diminish in height to the village of Naugatuck. The most elevated point in this rocky rampart, just south of the Glen, has in recent times been named "High Rock" but in more ancient times was known as "Squaw Rock." Just below the mouth of the Glen, between the railroad which runs close to the base of the Rock, and the river, lies a strip of level land formerly covered with a thick growth of trees but now cleared up in a fine manner, which constitutes the now famous "High Rock Grove."

At the northern end of the Grove is the entrance to the ravine or Glen, already spoken of, which is of considerable width at the railroad track, but is narrower further up the brook; from the opposite bank of the river, the little valley looks like the half-circle of an amphitheater. The observer standing with his face toward the west, has on his right the high crag known in history as Toby's Rock, and on his left Squaw Rock, the highest summit in the entire ledge. The name "High Rock" which has of late years been connected with this last-named height, was for-

⁷ Judges 20, 45.



THE GLEN AT HIGH ROCK GROVE, NAUGATUCK RAILROAD.



merly attached to a third summit which rises to the northwest, on the other side of the ravine. Through this ravine, a beautiful mountain stream comes plunging down, winding around the huge boulders which lie in its path; leaping over rocky ledges as if in sport with the roughness of the way, forms a series of charming cascades, some of them hidden under the dense shadows of the woods.

To one who follows the path cut in this steep side of the rock, a series of picturesque views is represented in rapid succession. For a short distance the path is the same as that which leads to the summit of High Rock, but it soon diverges and strikes into the wildwood close to the brook, and then ascends by a series of irregular terraces until it reaches a height of a hundred feet above the rushing waters. At this point an almost vertical wall towers on the left, and beyond the torrent rises another wall, less precipitous but no less grand, its ruggedness relieved by hemlocks and clinging vines. Thenceforward the path is easier, although continually ascending, and after a little it crosses the brook, winds up the hillside through a kind of clearing, becomes merged in a cart-road for some distance, and so reaches "the Gorge." This is perhaps eighteen rods in extent; the channel is twenty feet wide, and is shut in on either side by vertical walls of granite. Here the foaming waters leap from rock to rock, throwing clouds of spray high in the air. But the scenery here is not more impressive than at the cataract below, fifty rods from the mouth of the Glen, which has been pictured as follows:—

From rushing through a narrow defile the stream suddenly spreads out upon the level surface of an overhanging table-like rock, and falls in a broad, thin sheet into a deep basin below. Along the upper edge of the basin wall is a ledge of sufficient size for one to walk, with due caution, close up to the fall. Then, by ducking the head and stepping adroitly sidewise, one may pass directly under the cliff, and behind the sheet of water. The slight sprinkling necessarily attendant upon this feat, is more than compensated for by the delightful coolness of the retreat, and the rainbow-hued landscape visible through the limpid camera. The view from the path at this point is charming. The Glen is narrow and steep. Overhead gigantic hemlocks intertwine their branches in a fanciful net-work extending from wall to wall. Above, the brook rushes in a frothy torrent, forming a multitude of cascades, and disturbing the solemn silence of the rocky fastnesses with its weird, strange music. To one standing here alone, shut in from the world by these walls of adamant, the silence unbroken by any sound save that of the splashing waters, the cares and duties of daily life sink into insignificance, and the primitive simplicity and majesty of nature reveal themselves to the mind.

If instead of keeping close by the brook, the visitor takes the path to the top of the Rock, he is there rewarded with a view of considerable extent and remarkable beauty. The ascent is gradual and not difficult, but continuing until the summit, which is four hundred and seventy-five feet high, is reached, when the river is seen far below sweeping through the woods as a stream of silver, and the winding railroad close along its banks. Lifting his eyes, he finds himself surrounded with great crags, some of them clothed with forests, some of them bare precipices of shrubless granite. To the southward the valley widens a little, making room for a few narrow farms, and the village of Beacon Falls. Beyond the village rises the lofty ridge whose southern promontory is the bold and frowning rocky height called "Rimmon." To the southwest the view opens more widely, extending almost to Long Island Sound; and in different directions may be seen the centers or some part of the towns of Seymour, Oxford, Southbury, Middlebury, Huntington, Waterbury, Wolcott, Meriden, Southington, Prospect, Naugatuck and Bethany.

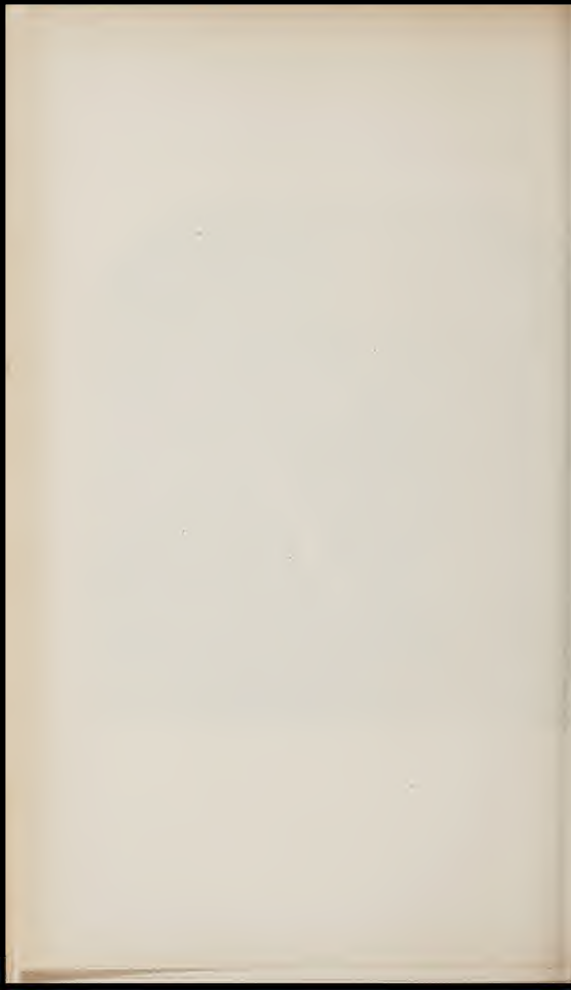
It has been well said, "here is a mixture of verdure and sternness, of romantic gorge and wild, tumultuous billows of hill and rock, that brings a feeling of solitude, yet of strength to the soul of man."

Whether the summit of Squaw Rock served as "an old beacon-light station during the Revolutionary War," as some have claimed, is more improbable than that it was put to that use by the Indians, long before the English saw the shores of Connecticut. Sentinel Hill in the southern part of Derby, and Beacon Hill on the original northern boundary of it were names, apparently, found here as used by the natives before the English came. The same thing is true, according to legends and records, of several hills along the Housatonic River. Again, it is not known how the Glen came to bear the name of "Jonah's Gorge."

It was not until the summer of 1876, that the establishment of a picnic ground at this place, with all the modern conveniences, was attempted by the Railroad Company. Early in July, the new Grove was ready for use, and on the 12th of that month the first pic-nic was held there, and from that time to the present, it has been a resort for tens of thousands of visitors almost yearly, there having been as high as 80,000 visitors in a single season.



CASCADE IN THE GLEN AT HIGH ROCK GROVE, NAUGATUCK RAILROAD.



Indian Legends.

It has been mentioned that the height now known as High Rock was formerly known as Squaw Rock. There are several legends connected with this name, which seem to be variations on a single theme. One of them runs as follows :

Some two hundred years ago, when Indian maidens wandered over the mountains, or paddled their light canoes, and sang like Laughing Water, while

‘Thinking of a hunter
From another tribe and country,’

the traders came from the coast, and sought to bribe the chieftain Toby, with a quart of rum, to give his daughter to the whites. But she, being as the sequel proves romantically inclined, begged that she might have one-half of the rum before giving her consent. She drank it and fled from her father’s wigwam. Failing to return soon, Toby and his warriors started in pursuit of her. Coming out upon the top of Toby’s Rock, and looking across the Glen, Toby discovered his daughter standing alone upon Squaw Rock. The maiden perceiving that she was discovered sprang to the edge of the cliff, precipitated herself to the base of the Rock, and was killed. After witnessing the death of his daughter, Toby despatched his warriors to the village, to take from the traders the jug of rum. It was taken to the top of the Rock and thrown thence into the middle of the river ; when, behold ! from the spot where it struck, there sprang instantly a huge boulder, which remains to this day—a warning to all future Tobies, who may be disposed to sell their daughters for rum.

Two hundred years ago Toby was a boy and became the slave of Col. Johnson, but he never was a chieftain, and never had warriors at his command.

According to another version, the maiden leaped from the top of the rock upon hearing of the death of her lover. Yet there is still another account of the catastrophe which has been given in the following fashion :—

Long years ago, when the country belonged to the Indians, a certain chief became enamored of a dusky maiden of another tribe and sought to make her his squaw, but she was not in favor of this plan, and one evening, when the chief came a wooing, she took to her heels and made straight for the summit of this cliff. She was closely pursued, and on reaching the edge of the precipice found herself almost within the grasp of the deserted lover. Escape in the direction whence she came was cut off ; beneath her yawned the dreadful abyss. Breathing a prayer to the Great Spirit, she threw herself from the brink, and the next moment was a shapeless mass upon the rocks below. Hence the name “Squaw Rock.”

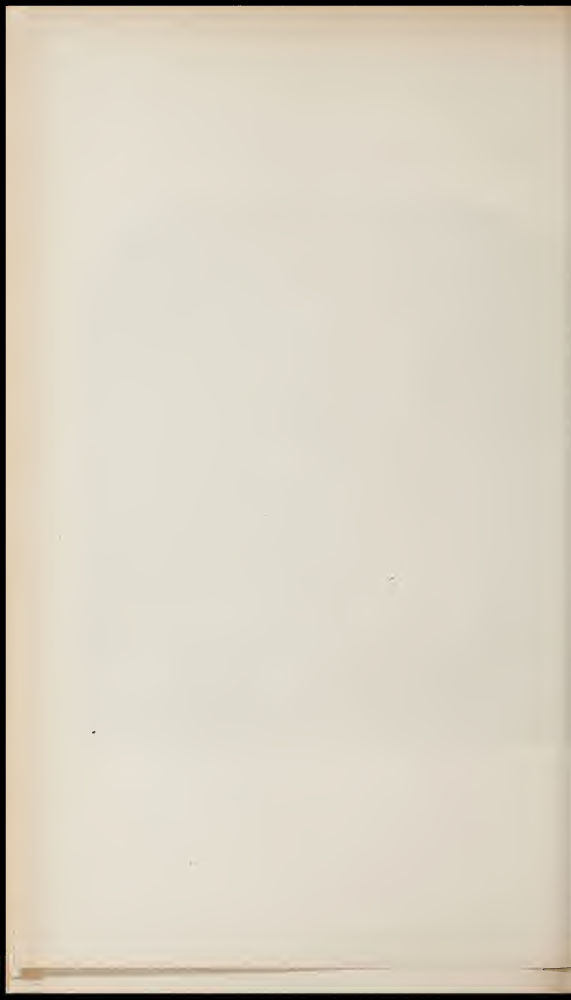
It appears that the spirit of this maiden does not rest well, whatever may have been the cause of her death ; for, about half way up Squaw Rock, and down the river from the cliff, there is a narrow crevice, from which the said spirit appears at midnight,

on the 20th of March and the 20th of September, of each year. It takes the form of a snake,—some say with four heads, some, with seven ; and the snake has upon its heads a large carbuncle, which, if anyone can secure it, will make him fabulously rich. Many a night have superstitious persons watched for the snake, hoping to capture this wealth ; but although they may have found snakes with seven rattles, no snake has thus far been secured with heads decorated with carbuncles.

Turning again to the Tunxis Indians, with whom the Paugasucks are related, and from whom the Waterbury purchases were made, we find the same process of gradual decay taking place among them which we trace in other tribes. The main body at Farmington was joined from time to time by re-enforcements from the Connecticut valley ; and it is very probable that some of the Paugasucks joined them, since we are informed in one deed that some had settled in Hartford, where they were residing at the time of the execution of a deed in Derby. A school was established among them, a few were admitted as freemen, and a few became members of the church. But notwithstanding the friendly feeling which existed, the lands which the Indians had reserved slipped gradually from their grasp, and they found it desirable to emigrate. In 1761, the tribe was estimated at less than twenty-five families. They had moved back from their position and were residing in the northwest part of Farmington and in New Hartford. In 1774, they numbered fifty-six persons. Not long after, some of them removed to the country of the Mohawks ; others, subsequently, to Scatacook, and from there to Stockbridge. The Tunxis Indians, as we have seen, had no established camping-ground in the Naugatuck valley at the time of its settlement by white men ; neither is there any strong evidence that they resided in the valley after they had begun to retire from their old reservation. It is probable, however, that some of the Indians who are still remembered as living in Waterbury, Litchfield, and Wolcottville, belonged to that tribe. It is within the present generation that a family living in the Park road, in the western part of Waterbury, has entirely disappeared. Persons are still living who remember Indian families in Wolcottville and Torrington. In the latter place a wigwam used to stand in the very door-yard of a prominent citizen, Capt. Shu-



BRIDGE IN THE GLEN AT HIGH ROCK GROVE, NAUGATUCK RAILROAD.



bael Griswold, some time after the Revolutionary war. Another family had their wigwam within the present century in the field west of the Brass-mill in Wolcottville, where they had resided some years. In the edge of the town of Goshen, a little north of Hart's Hollow, is a cave which used to be the recruiting station for the Indians while on their hunting excursions through that region. Many arrow-heads and other implements have been picked up at that place, indicating considerable occupation of it by these hunters. Another like place is found in the northwest corner of the town of Wolcott, near the boundary between it and Bristol, where implements have been found, and which tradition as well claims to have been a resort of the Red man. The place is called Jack's Cave, because an Indian by that name was the last, or among the last, to make it his home. In the forepart of the present century it was occupied by four or five adult Indians and two or three children, for which purpose the shelving rock formed quite a secure and comfortable retreat. Wist Pond, in the western part of the town of Torrington, was so called from an Indian by that name, who, it is said, was drowned in its waters. There lived, some time since, an Indian family in a cave in the town of Harwinton, nearly opposite the mouth of Spruce Brook, and another on the tract of land called the Wigwam, lying along "West Branch," not far back from Raynold's Bridge. In 1850, Mr. DeForest spoke of "one miserable creature, a man named Mossock," as living in Litchfield, "perhaps the sole remnant of the Tunxis tribe." There may be other similar traces of the departing Red man, which by a little effort would be discovered, and, if it were worth the while, recorded.

It is important to take a further look at the Potatucks, from whom the extensive Litchfield purchase was made. As to their numbers, it is difficult to determine anything to a certainty, but some conclusions may be drawn by comparison, from the number of different individuals who signed the Indian deeds in Derby. From 1657 to 1678, or to the close of the Sachem rule of Okenuck, a space of twenty-one years, there were of the Paugasuck Indians over fifty different signers to those deeds. Sometimes only Okenuck's name is attached; at other times two, five, seven, and ten are recorded. The fact (which is demonstrated) that only a few signed when there were others

who might properly have signed, indicates that it was necessary for but a few to sign at a time. Hence, if during that time one in three of the men in the tribe signed, then the tribe consisted of one hundred and fifty men; and, making allowance for deaths and removals, the tribe may have numbered one hundred men, or, on a small estimate, between three and four hundred persons at any time during the twenty-one years. It is quite apparent, nay, almost demonstrable, that the Indians increased in numbers from 1657 to 1700, and afterward. Many of the Paugasucks united with the Potatucks from 1680 to 1730.

It is probable that the chief seat of the Potatucks in 1660 was at the "Old Fort" opposite Birmingham Point, on the west side of the Housatonic, and the settlement of the places called Potatuck, twelve miles further up the river, and Pomperaug, was effected mostly afterwards. In 1671, when this tribe deeded to Henry Tomlinson land on both sides of the river at what is now New Milford, fifteen names were placed on the deed,^a and in the next month to a quitclaim deed in confirmation of the territory of the town of Stratford, four others were added, and in 1684, to another deed of the same character eleven more were recorded. Here, then, in the space of thirteen years, there are thirty men ascertained; and on the computations as in the case of the Paugasucks as before noted, we estimate, making due allowance, that there were about seventy men in the Potatuck tribe, and from two hundred to two hundred and fifty persons. When, then, this tribe had increased, as most probably it did, of its own numbers and by accessions from the Paugasucks up to 1700, it very probably numbered over one hundred men. Hence, when President Stiles of Yale College, in his "Itinerary" in 1760, estimated the number of warriors of this tribe to have been fifty half a century before, he was not far out of the way.

The same writer preserves the account of a great "powwow," which took place at the village of the Potatucks, somewhere from 1720 to 1725. The ceremonies lasted three days, and were attended by five or six hundred Indians, many of whom came from distant places, as Farmington and Hartford. While the Indians were standing in a dense mass, excited by dancing and other wild rites, a little Indian girl was brought forward, gaily

^a Pp. 101, 102.

dressed and covered with ornaments. She was led in among them by two squaws, her mother and her aunt; and as she entered the crowd they set up a great yelling and howling, threw themselves into strange postures, and made hideous grimaces. After a while the squaws, stripped of their ornaments, emerged alone from the crowd and walked away, shedding tears and uttering mournful cries. Many white people stood around gazing at the scene, but the savages were so excited that none of them dared to interfere. A little white girl, who afterwards related the incident, ran to the squaws and asked anxiously what they had done with the child, but the only reply was that they should never see her again. It was generally believed by the whites that the Indians had sacrificed her, and that this was an occasional custom.

In 1742, the Potatucks petitioned the legislature for a school and a preacher, so that, as they expressed it (or some white friend in their behalf) "our souls need not perish for want of vision in this land of light," and their petition was granted. At this time they numbered forty persons. Previous to this, however (in 1733), they had sold about three-fourths of their reservation in Southbury, and many of them had joined the Weante-nocks of New Milford, whither they had been emigrating for more than fifty years. To the fragment of land and the Indian village which remained, known as the Potatuck Wigwams, they retained a title for a quarter of a century longer; but in 1758, they parted with it and took up their abode with other tribes. A clan of the Potatucks resided alternately at Bethlehem, Litchfield, and Nonawaug, and have been sometimes designated as Bantam Indians. In 1761, the Potatucks who remained in the vicinity of their old reservation consisted of one man and two or three broken families.

One year previous to the presentation of the petition just referred to, asking for a school and a preacher (that is, in May, 1741,) a petition had been presented by a member of the Potatuck tribe asking the legislature, first, to allow something toward the schooling and supporting of his children; secondly, to help him to a division of the Indian lands at Potatuck. This document, which is reproduced from Cothren's "History of Woodbury," is a very curious one; but it demands our attention just

now because of the name of the petitioner, who speaks of himself as a poor Indian native, "Hatchett Tousey by name." Hatchett Tousey, notwithstanding its English sound, is obviously the same name which appears repeatedly in the Woodbury and Litchfield records as "Atchetouset;" and it is all the more interesting to us because we meet with it under the form "Hatchatowsuck" among the Tunxis and Paugasuck names affixed to the Waterbury deed of December, 1684, and again as connected with the Hatchett family of Derby. It would not be safe to consider the petitioner of 1741 identical with the signer of 1684, but we can certainly trace him in another quarter,—in the town records of Litchfield. On the third day of August, 1732, John Catlin sold to a certain Indian resident of Litchfield, commonly known as Hatchatousset, for eight pounds lawful money, one acre more or less of land in the crotch of Bantam River; and on the 14th of May, 1736, Hatchatousset sold this land to John Sutliff for ten pounds, making, as probably he supposed, a fair profit. The idea of individual ownership had evidently taken hold of this native of the soil, for in his petition, as we have seen, he prayed the legislature to help him to a division of the Indian land at Potatuck—"that I might have my right and just part set out to me, so that they might not quarrel with me, for they say if I am a Christian, then I shall not have my land." He had learned, too, that being a Christian does not by any means take away the desire to have land; and that being a Christian secures sometimes the opposition of nearest kindred.

Another personage comes before us, whose name is already inscribed in history among the noble and honored defenders of our country. The name of one of the Indians who sold to the Litchfield settlers was written Corkscrew, apparently an impromptu joke of the clerk at the time, who should have written Cotsure or Cocksure. On a deed of land in New Milford, this name was written in 1739 "Cockshure," a still better spelling than the others. This name within a generation or two became Cogswell; a worthy member of the family which it represents is still living at New Milford, and another, William H. Cogswell, won a Lieutenant's commission in a Connecticut Artillery Com-

pany, in the late war. The Cornwall History speaks thus of this honored soldier :⁹

Lieut. William H. Cogswell died Sept. 22, 1864, aged 25 years 2 months and 23 days. He enlisted as a private in the Fifth Regiment, C. V., June 22, 1861, and was promoted to the Second Connecticut Artillery, for gallant services, Sept. 11, 1862. He was in the battles of Peaked Mountain, Winchester, Cedar Mountain, Cold Harbor, and Opequan, and died from wounds received in the last battle.

A handsome freestone monument, with the above inscription, erected by his fellow-townsmen, stands as a tribute to his memory. As a valiant, faithful soldier he had no superiors, while in power to endure fatigue, agility, strength and never-failing spirits, he had few equals. The writer remarked to his Colonel (Wessells) that William was one of a thousand soldiers. He replied, "You might well say, one of ten thousand."

It is related of him, that when on the march many were falling out of the ranks from fatigue, he grasped the muskets of three or four, carried them for miles, showing his men what strong and willing arms could do.

He was the eldest son of Nathan Cogswell, to whose skilled hands Cornwall farmers are indebted for many of their fine stone walls, and grandson of Jeremiah Cogswell, a member of the Scatacook tribe.

This grandfather was probably Jeremiah Cockshure, who, removing with the remnant of the tribe from Potatuck, became one of Gideon Mauweehu's principal men. He was one of the converts of the Moravian missionaries, and his name often appears in their lists.

When we consider the Indian's character, the stage of development he had reached, and the ordeal necessarily involved in his being brought suddenly into contact with an aggressive civilization, his behavior in this trying period of his history seems worthy of high commendation. However cruel and bloodthirsty he may have been by nature, in his intercourse with peaceable white men he was peaceable ; if they showed themselves friendly, he was their friend. Much is said of the Indian's treachery, but it was mostly reserved for enemies, and does not differ essentially from the deception and stratagems which in all ages civilized people have considered legitimate in war ; and, before the coming of the white man, who was anything but an enemy to the Indian of New England, all the tribes seem to have been ready to devour each other, and the Five Nations ready to de-

⁹ By T. S. Gold, p. 223.

stroy all others. The great law of self-defence appears to have been the rendering of terrible sufferings to captives taken in wars.

As a rule the conduct of the Indians was peaceable and friendly, but there were exceptions,—most of them traceable, it is presumed, to the intemperate use of spirituous liquors. Among these exceptions may be mentioned a murder which was perpetrated in the town of Litchfield, in February, 1768. The murderer was an Indian named John Jacob, and his victim was also an Indian. The guilty man was tried and executed the same year. Mention should also be made of Moses Cook of Waterbury, whose residence was on the north-east corner of Cook and Grove streets, where another branch of the family still resides. The crime was committed in the town of Bethany, on the 7th of December, 1771, by an Indian named Moses Paul. It appears that Paul was born in Barnstable, Mass., about 1742, and resided at Windham, Connecticut, until twenty years of age, when he enlisted in the Provincial service in the regiment of Col. Putnam. After the campaign was ended, he became a sailor and followed the sea for several years, becoming confirmed in bad habits which he had contracted while in the army. After returning to Connecticut, he lived in a very unsteady way for three or four years, staying but a little while in a place, and often becoming intoxicated. On the evening of December 7, 1771, at the house of Mr. Clark of Bethany, while under the influence of liquor, he quarrelled with the proprietor. He seized a flat-iron weighing four and a half pounds (Paul himself testified that it was a club), and aiming a blow at Mr. Clark, missed him, and struck Mr. Cook who was standing near. The wound terminated fatally five days afterward. Paul was pursued and arrested the same evening; tried in February, and after a fair and impartial hearing, which lasted a whole day, was found guilty of murder, and sentenced to be hanged in June. The General Assembly, however, on petition, granted a reprieve for three months. At Paul's execution, which took place at New Haven, Sept. 2, 1772, a sermon was preached "at the desire of said Paul," by Samson Occum, a well known Indian preacher and missionary; the author, by the way, of the once popular hymn,

"Awaked by Sinai's awful sound."

A large assembly of whites and Indians had come together to witness the execution, and Occum taking for his text the words, "For the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord," delivered a quite elaborate and impressive discourse, in which there were some characteristic specimens of Indian eloquence. The sermon was subsequently published in several editions, and republished in England in connection with the treatise of the younger Jonathan Edwards upon the grammar of the Muhhekaneew (Mohegan) Indians. Mr. Occum in his preface says, it was "a stormy and very uncomfortable day when the discourse was delivered," and hopes that it may be serviceable to his poor kindred, the Indians, and that people may be induced to read it because it comes from an uncommon quarter.¹⁰

It is said that before the settlement of Torrington, a white man hunting on the hill which rises between the two branches of the Naugatuck River, just above Wolcottville, saw an Indian and shot him, and from this instance the hill was named Red Mountain. The reason the man gave for his deed, so closely similar to many committed on our western frontier, was, that he "knew if he did not shoot the Indian, the Indian would shoot him, so he shot first and killed him." But the white man's logic was at fault, unless he had good reason to believe that the Indian belonged to some remote and hostile tribe. Indians knew, as well as white men, who were friends and who were enemies, and there was no period subsequent to King Philip's war when any of the Indians of Connecticut would have been likely to shoot a white man at sight, or without the utmost provocation. The shooting of this Indian was, therefore, without excuse, and the name Red Mountain is a standing reproach to the white man's treatment of the Indian.

The consideration of King Philip's war, and the other Indian

¹⁰ It is a fact worth mentioning in this connection, that the skull of Moses Cook was not buried with his body. It was probably prepared for examination and exhibited at the trial of Paul, and was afterward returned to the family. It was for many years in the possession of Mr. Cook's daughter, the wife of Titus Bronson, and mother of the late Dea. Leonard Bronson of Middlebury. This strange souvenir was kept by Mrs. Bronson in a little cloth bag (being in several pieces), and at her request buried with her in 1841. Her grandson, Edward L. Bronson, remembers having seen it repeatedly in his boyhood.

wars of the colonial period, in their relations to the Naugatuck valley, is worthy of a passing notice. Thus far we have been tracing the foot-steps of a departing friend; we may also trace the coming and going of a wily and cruel enemy. The first war in Connecticut was that waged against the Pequots, in the beginning of its history as a colony. The Pequots were of the Algonkin stock, but by some it is said did not belong to the same family as the other Connecticut tribes. "The Pequots and Mohegans were, apparently, of the same race with the Mohicans, Mohegans, Mohicanders, who lived on the banks of the Hudson."¹¹ The Moravian missionaries, however, recognized all the Western Connecticut Indians as of the same stock as the Hudson River Indians. The Pequots were, therefore, without allies in that war, and were not only defeated, but practically extinguished. This was in 1636, and King Philip's war did not begin until forty years later. In the interval, which was a period of undisturbed peace, the settlement of Farmington took place, on the one side, and Milford on the other. The settlement of Derby, as we have seen, was begun as early as 1654, and in 1657 the deed was given in which Mattatuck is first mentioned—the land around the hill where the black-lead was found. It was during this era of peace that the meadow lands of the Naugatuck were discovered. Preparations had been begun for the settlement of Waterbury, when the colony was startled by the cry of war. The first intimation of a misunderstanding between Philip, who was the chief of the Wampanoags in southeastern Massachusetts, and the colonists, was in April, 1671. From this time, if not before this, Philip skillfully planned to unite all the New England tribes against the whites in a war of extermination. The want of friendship among the tribes rendered this a difficult undertaking, but he succeeded so far as to extend his operations from the St. Croix river to the Housatonic. An Indian league was formed, and the result was the most formidable war the colonists ever had to sustain. Hostilities actually commenced on the 24th of June, 1675, and were terminated by the defeat and death of Philip fourteen months afterward.

In this bloody conflict the colonists lost six hundred men. Thirteen towns were totally, and eleven partially, destroyed.

¹¹ DeForest, 39.

While the eastern part of Connecticut, being nearer the centre of the conflict, suffered more seriously than the western, yet the valley of the Naugatuck was by no means exempt from anxiety, danger and trouble. If there had been no other sources of hardship, the enactments passed by the General Court and the Council—which have been correctly characterized as “equivalent to putting the whole colony under martial law,”—must have come heavily upon such new settlements as Derby. At a meeting of the Council, held on the 1st of September, 1675, it was reported, “that the Indians were in a hostile manner prepared, with their arms, near Paugasuck;” and this, with other similar reports, led the Council to pass a stringent law in reference to carrying of arms by Indians:

The Council sees cause to order that whatsoever Indian or Indians with arms shall be espied traveling without an Englishman be with them, if they do not call to such English traveling as they may see, and also lay down their arms, with professing themselves friends, it shall be lawful for the said English to shoot at them and destroy them for their own safety; which it is our duty to provide for thus in time of war.

Two days afterward it was ordered by the Council that in each plantation a sufficient watch should be kept “from the shutting in of the evening till the sun rise,” and that one-fourth part of each town should be in arms every day by turns. “It is also ordered that during these present commotions with the Indians, such persons as have occasion to work in the fields shall work in companies; if they be half a mile from the town, not less than six in company, with their arms and ammunition well fixed and fitted for service.” In October, the General Court, in view of “great combinations and threatening of the Indians against the English,” ordered that sixty soldiers should be raised in each county, “well fitted with horse, arms, and ammunition, as dragoons;” that places of refuge should be fortified in every settlement, to be defended by such persons as the chief militia officer in each town should appoint to that work; and in case of an assault by an enemy or an alarm, any one who should willfully neglect the duty to which he had been appointed should be punished with death, or such other punishment as a court-martial should adjudge him to. The “places of refuge” were fortifications constructed of timbers placed vertically in the ground so close to-

gether that no one could pass between them. Such a wooden wall, with doors properly secured, afforded good protection against hostile Indians, and to a house thus defended the population could resort with safety at night, and return in the morning to their own houses. In the following March, it was further ordered by the Council—"in regard to the present troubles that are upon us, and the heathen still continuing their hostilities against the English, and assaulting the plantations,"—that the watch in the several settlements, an hour at least before day, should call up the several inhabitants within their respective wards, who should forthwith rise and arm themselves and march to their several quarters, there to stand upon their guard to defend the town against any assault of the enemy until the sun be half an hour high. Mounted scouts, also, were to be sent out from every town to watch the enemy, "going so far into the woods as they may return the same day, to give an account of what they shall discover."

It was under such circumstances as these that the inhabitants of Derby and Woodbury sought the advice and aid of the General Court. In answer, the Court advised them to secure their grain and remove to more populous villages for protection. A number did remove, but a few evidently remained in Derby, with the Indians close at hand.

CHAPTER V.

THE LAST FAMILIES IN DERBY.



HUSE was the last Sachem in Derby, and this his name gave rise to the name of the village known for more than fifty years as Chusetown, now Seymour, on the Naugatuck. Considerable has been written as to who this man was, and most writers have followed what is said of him by Mr. J. W. Barber in his "Historical Collections;" which is that he was a Pequot (or Mohegan); but Mr. DeForest¹ says that while "various connections might be traced between the Narragansetts and the tribes of western Connecticut," "both united in holding the Pequots in abhorrence and seldom bore any other relations to them than those of enemies, or of unwilling subjects." Hence it would have been almost impossible for a Pequot to come among the Paugasuck or Potatuck Indians, after the English began to settle there, and become a chief.

The office of Sachem, Sagamore or chief was one of inheritance among the Indians, and the direct line of descendants from Ansantaway were numerous among both the Paugasucks and Potatucks, and they held the right of inheritance and were leaders in their tribes, that is before they became chiefs. The names of persons who are distinctly declared to be Sachems and Sagamores, are Ansantaway, Tow-Tanemow, Ockenuck, Atterosse, Ahuntaway, Nanawaug, Cockapatana, and Chushumack, besides several others, the position of whose names on the deeds indicate the office of Sachem. Chushumack succeeded Towtanemow as Sachem at Potatuck on the west side of the Housatonic, at Derby, for he signed a deed as such, in 1671. His son, one of several, signed the same deed, and also a grandson, which would indicate that Chushumack was about

¹ DeForest, p. 60.

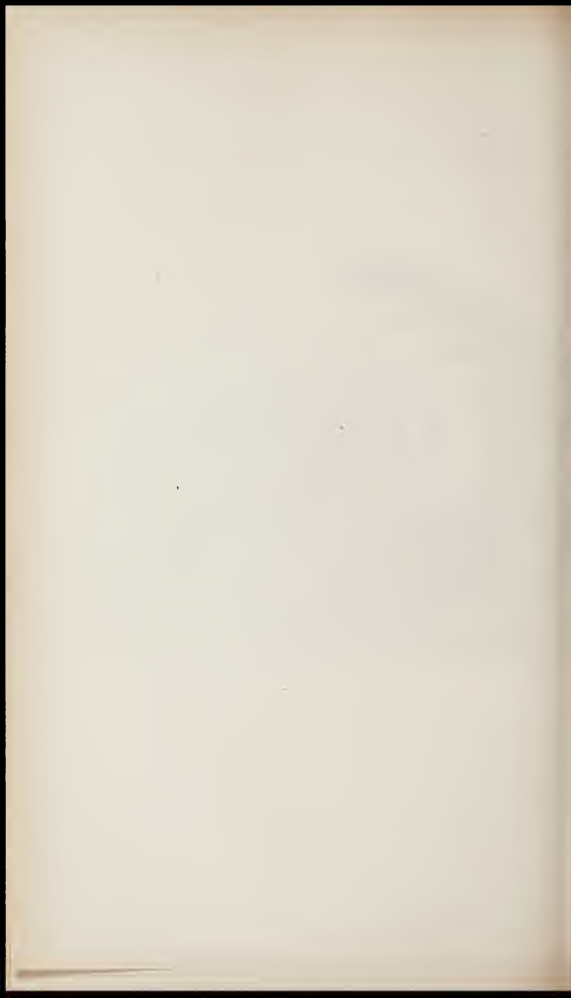
seventy years of age, and hence born long before the English came to the shores of Long Island. It is possible for Chushumack to have been a Pequot, but, if not, then Gideon Mauweehu and his son Joseph were not Pequots, for it is inferentially certain that they were introduced to these tribes no other way, if introduced at all from another tribe. Chushumack signed three deeds given to the Derby settlers, dated respectively 1670, 1671, and 1673, thus clearly showing his ownership with the Paugasucks; and there are many more evidences of this close relation between these tribes.

Another fact must be remembered, that the Indians' land at the Falls (or Chusettown) was a reservation made by Okenuck, in 1678, when the land at that place was sold to the town. It was reserved in the following words: "Only the said Indians do reserve the fishing place at Naugatuck, and the hill next the river at the fishing place; further the Indians do grant to the inhabitants, all the grass and feed and timber on the plain against the Rock Rimmon, and do engage to sell it to them if they sell it." This reservation comprised about thirty acres and belonged to the Paugasuck Indians, and how could Gideon Mauweehu give this land to his son Joseph unless he was inheritor of it through the Paugasuck tribe as well as the Pootatuck; and especially so when there were probably more than a hundred men eager to claim it if he had not been the legitimate chief? He did it only as a chief relinquishes his claim to his son to be the chief of those who should reside on the land, or hold it as a possession. How did he possess any claim over this land, unless by ancestral right, running back to a time anterior to the date of the reservation? And, how did Gideon Mauweehu become Sachem of this land before 1730, as some have claimed, when the rightful Sachem, Cockapatana, was living, and his son with him, until 1731?

Mauweehu is said to have been the name of these chiefs. The name Gideon was given to the elder of the two when he was baptized at Scatacook, in 1742, by the Moravian missionary. The missionary, Christian Henry Rauch, records his name before baptism as "Mauweseman." The names Mawee and Mauweehu are found on Indian deeds given at Setauket, Long Island, in 1655 to 1660. Joseph was the son of Gideon, and received his



NAUGATUCK FALLS, OR CHUSETOWN.



English name probably at his birth, about 1710. Joseph is said to have been brought up or educated at the home of Agur Tomlinson of Derby, but the first man of that name, resident in the town—and quite a spirited business man—was first married in 1734, about fourteen years after Joseph's reported settlement at the Falls, wherefore, and also because of other facts, it is probable that he did not settle at the Falls until after 1735. The land did not, probably, fall into the hands of his father until after the death of Cockapatana in 1731, and therefore the settlement must be some years later. An item in the town records confirms this opinion. It was customary, when a man became an inhabitant of the town, to record the mark he was to put on the ears of his sheep, swine, and cattle, and therefore the following entry has force, for the reason that if Joseph was brought up among the English, which is most probable, he would not have remained many years settled at the Falls before being in possession of animals upon which he would need an ear-mark.

"Joseph Mauwee,² his ear-mark is two-halfpennies of the fore-side of the right ear, and a half tenant the underside the left ear. June 27, 1759."

It is said, however, that his youngest child, Eunice, was born in 1755, and that he had ten children, which might seem that his marriage took place before he could have lived with Agur Tomlinson. But Eunice had no records, only memory, she being at the time about seventy years of age. His wife's name was Ann, whom Mr. J. W. Barber says was "a woman of the East Haven tribe," but the "History of Seymour" says she was "of the Farmington Indians;"—and when we remember that the East Haven Indians were but few, at first, and were dispersed nearly one hundred years before Joseph married any one, the Farmington story seems the most probable.

The "striking statement" reported to have been made by Eunice Mauweehu, that she "had seen an old Indian who had seen King Philip," would require the age of the old Indian to have been about one hundred and twenty years. It was from this Eunice that Mr. J. W. Barber received most of his information about the Indians of Derby,³ and, making some allowances for

² His name was always written on the town records "Mauwee."

³ His. Col., p. 200.

the memory of an Indian woman seventy-two years of age, the source of information is nearly as reliable as any except actual records. When opinions, interpretations or legendary stories are in question, then the *story* is all there is of value. The story that Chuse's name resulted from the peculiar manner of his pronouncing the word choose is not credited by the author of this war work any more than those concerning several other things which were told to Mr. Barber, but which the town records of Derby prove to be erroneous.

The story that "Sentinel Hill" in Derby was so named from the fact of building sentinel fires on it during the Revolutionary war, when the same name of that hill is found on many deeds one hundred years before the Revolution, is like several other stories; the story or legend has a foundation in reality, but the date makes the story entirely too young—as is the case sometimes with people.

It is more probable that the name "Chuse" originated from the abbreviation of some Indian name, or in the English method of remembering some ancestor, as "Chushumack," or "Cush," rather than some minor occurrence, especially when we find a growing tendency among the Indians, or rather among the English concerning Indian names, to perpetuate the name. Indian names were not hereditary in early times, but after a hundred years of mingling with the English, the paternal name was used in designating families, and hence we have Joseph Mauwehu, after his father Mauwehu; and as early as 1702, Will Toto, John Toto, Jack Toto.

Chuse settled at the "Falls," a place originally called by the Indians and English "Naugatuck," which name was afterwards applied to the river; the latter being called many years Paugasuck or Paugasset. In the Indian deed of this place it is said: "Only the said Indians do reserve the fishing place at Naugatuck," and in the report of a committee in Derby, dated in 1676, this name is used in the same manner: "Plum meadow and the adjacent land is by estimation about twenty acres, lying on the east side of the river that cometh from Nau tuck." Mr. John W. Barber was told¹ that "the original name of this place was Nau-ko-tunk, which signified in the Indian language,

¹ Hist. Col., p. 199.

one large tree, so named from a large tree which formerly stood near Rock Rimmon, about three-fourths of a mile north of the falls." The name, so far as the town records show, never was Naukotunk, but was at first Naugatuck; the difference being—unk means a standing tree; tuck means a tidal or broad river,⁵ or winding river. The river at this place flows first in a direction a little east of south, then turns short to a southwesterly direction, then south, and at the falls turns almost directly east for about one hundred rods, then turns directly south. It is sufficient to say that this remarkable winding of the river, with the falls, would originate the name rather than a mythical tree, the reality of which is warranted by no records whatever. In the "History of Derby" another idea was maintained with but little research, the author believing that the name grew out of the peculiar characteristics at the place rather than from a tree three-quarters of a mile away, and is still decidedly of that opinion.

It may be said further in regard to the time that Chuse settled at this place, that in 1731, the town purchased "all that tract of land known by the name of the Indian hill in Derby, situate on the east side of the Naugatuck river, near the place called the Falls; all that land that lieth eastward, northward, and southward, except the plain that lieth near the Falls up to the foot of the hill." The deed of this land was not given by Chuse, but by John Cookson, John Howd, and other Indians, which fact is proof that Chuse was not there, nor in possession of this land at that time.

Mr. J. W. Barber's account of Chuse and the Indians at the Falls is worthy of record in this place, and is as follows:

"For a long period after the settlement of this place, it was called Chusetown, so named from Chuse the last Sachem of the Derby Indians, who is said to have derived his name from his manner of pronouncing the word 'choose.' His proper name was Joe Mau-we-hu; he was the son of Gideon Mauwehu, a Pequot Indian, who was the king or sachem of the Scatacook tribe of Indians in Kent, lived in the vicinity of Derby, and wishing to have his son brought up among the white people, sent Joe to Agur Tomlinson of Derby, with whom he lived during his minority. Chuse preferring to live at Derby, his

⁵ See "Indian Names onnecticut," by J. Hammond Trumbull, p. 9.

father gave him a tract of land at the Falls, called the Indian Field. Here he erected his wigwam about six or eight rods north of where the cotton factory now [1836] stands, on the south side of the flat. It was beautifully situated among the white-oak trees, and faced the south. He married an Indian woman of the East Haven tribe. At the time Chuse removed here there were but one or two white families in the place, who had settled on Indian hill, the height of land east of the river and southeast of the cotton factory, in the vicinity of the Methodist and Congregational churches. These settlers wishing Chuse for a neighbor, persuaded him to remove to the place where the house of the late Mrs. Phebe Stiles now stands, a few rods north of the Congregational church. When Mr. Whitmore built on the spot, Chuse removed back to the Falls, where a considerable number of the Indians collected and built their wigwams in a row, a few rods east of the factory on the top of the bank extending to Indian hill. Near the river, in the Indian field, was a large Indian burying-ground; each grave was covered with a small heap of stones. Mr. Stiles of this place purchased this field about forty-six years since of the Indian proprietors, and in plowing it over, destroyed these relics of antiquity. The land on the west side of the river from this place, where the Episcopal church stands, was formerly called Shrub Oak. Both the Indians and the whites went to meeting on foot to Derby. Those of the whites who died here were conveyed on horse-litters to be buried at Derby. These litters were made by having two long poles attached to two horses, one of which was placed before the other; the ends of the poles were fastened, one on each side of the forward horse, and the other ends were fastened to the horse behind. A space was left between the horses, and the poles at this place were fastened together by cross pieces, and on these was placed whatever was to be carried.

"Chuse lived at this place forty-eight years, and then removed with most of the Derby Indians to Scatacook, in Kent, where he died, at the age of about eighty years. He was a large, athletic man, and a very spry and active hunter. He had ten children. Eunice, aged seventy-two years, the youngest daughter of Chuse, is still living [1836] at Scatacook, and it is from her that most of the particulars respecting Chuse and the Indians are derived.

"Chuse and his family were in the habit of going down once a year to Milford 'to salt,' as it was termed. They usually went down in a boat from Derby Narrows ; when they arrived at Milford beach they set up a tent made of the sail of their boat, and stayed about a fortnight, living upon oysters and clams. They also collected a considerable quantity of clams, which they boiled, then dried them in the sun, and strung them in the same manner as we do apples which are to be dried. Clams cured in this way were formerly quite an article of traffic.

"The Indians in the interior used to bring down dried venison, which they exchanged with the Indians who lived on the the sea-coast for their dried clams. Chuse used to kill many a deer while watching the wheat fields ; also great numbers of wild turkeys and occasionally a bear. Some of the whites also were great hunters. The most famous were Gideon Washborn and Alexander Johnson. Rattlesnakes were formerly very numerous about Niumph, near Rock Rimmon, and occasionally have been known to crawl into the houses in the vicinity. About the time of the first settlement of Humphreysville, a white man by the name of Noah Durand, killed an Indian named John Sunk, by mistake. They were hunting deer on opposite sides of the river, Durand on the west side and the Indian on the east ; it was in the dusk of the evening, in the warm season, at the time the deer went into the river to cool themselves. Durand perceiving something moving in the bushes on the east side and supposing it to be a deer, aimed his gun at the place and fired. Sunk, mortally wounded, immediately cried out, 'You have killed me.'⁶ Durand sprang through the river to the assistance of the dying Indian, who begged for water. Durand took his shoe, filled it with water and gave it to Sunk, who, after drinking, immediately died. This took place perhaps twenty or thirty rods south of Humphreysville, just below where Henry Wooster lived. A kind of arbitration was afterward held upon this case by the white people and the Indians. One of the Indian witnesses remarked that he never knew of deer wearing red stockings before—alluding to the common Indian dress. The Indians, however, appeared satisfied that their countryman was

⁶ The gun used by Durand on this occasion is owned by Mr. John Whitlock, of Birmingham, Conn.

killed by mistake, and ever afterwards made Mr. Durand's house their stopping-place."

Anecdotes are preserved of Chuse, which show that he was somewhat addicted to the use of ardent liquors and considered rum or whisky essentially superior as a beverage to cold water. He used to come, when thirsty, to a fine spring bursting from a hollow rock at the foot of the hill, and there sit on the bank by the side of the spring and drink the sweet water as it gushed from the rock, and praise it and say that if there was only another spring, of rum, flowing by the side of it, he would ask for nothing more, but should be perfectly happy.

In 1760, he sold an acre and a half of land on the east side of the Falls, including the water privilege, to Thomas Perkins of Enfield, and Ebenezer Keeney, Joseph Hull, and John Wooster of Derby, who had formed a company for the purpose of putting up some iron works. After living at Humphreysville forty-eight years, Chuse removed to Scatacook, where, a few years afterward, he died at the age of eighty. His land was not disposed of until 1792, when it still amounted to thirty-three acres; and only a part was sold at this time, the rest being sold in 1812."

Chuse's wife's name was Anna, concerning whom the Rev. Daniel Humphreys made the following record: "September 12, 1779, then Ann Chuse was admitted to communion with the Church of Christ." The Rev. Martin Tuller of Derby, recorded her name in 1787, "Anna Mawheu," and at the same time he recorded Chuse's name, "Joseph Mawheu," as having been a member of the church to the time of his removal, but when he first joined is not known. It is probable, therefore, that he removed to Kent about the time of the date of his dismissal from the church at Derby, and if he resided at Chusetown forty-eight years, as stated, then he settled there in 1739.

In 1780, the town appointed Capt. Bradford Steele, and Mr. Gideon Johnson, a committee with full power "to take care of the Indian lands in Derby, and let out the same to the best advantage for the support of said Indians, and to take care that there be no waste made on said land, and to render an account of their doings to the town."

When Chuse removed, it is said, he took with him a large pro-

⁷ Historical Collections, 199, 200.

⁸ DeForest's History, 406.

portion of his people, but some were left, and for these the town and State took particular care many years. John Howd appears to have been the successor in office to Chuse, for a time, as indicated by the signing of deeds, and the following record: "Whereas the Assembly held on the 2d of May, 1810, authorized Joseph Riggs of Derby, to sell certain lands, the property of Philip, Moses, Hester, Frank, and Mary Seymour, Indians; lands which descended to them from John Howd an Indian," therefore the lands were sold by Lewis Prindle and Betsey Prindle, agents in place of Joseph Riggs, in behalf of these Indians, and two years later some part of this land was sold to Col. David Humphreys, and another piece, at the same time, to Mrs. Phebe Stiles. This John Howd, Indian, should not be taken for the prominent white citizen of the same town some years before, by the same name, and after whom, most probably, this Indian was named.

On the day-book of the selectmen of Derby are found the following items:

"1809. Abigail Short, credit, by keeping Frederick Fronk, one of the proprietors of the Indian land at Rock Rimmon Falls, and attending him in his illness, \$6.50. By horse and carriage to move Frederick Fronk, one of the proprietors," etc., "\$0.67."

"Sep. 4, 1809. Isaac Pease, credit, by making a coffin for Frederick Fronk, one of the proprietors, etc., \$4.50."

"Abraham Harger, credit, by digging Frederick Fronk's grave, \$1.24."

"Daniel Todd, credit, by tending on Lydia French and Frederick Fronk's funeral, \$1.00."

"1808. Augustus Baden, credit, by keeping his mother, Hester, one of the proprietors of the Indian land at the Falls, \$10.79."

The Mack Family.

The last remnants of the Indians at Chusetown, were the members of the Mack family who, in their last days, dwelt in the borders of Bethany, just out of the town of Derby. The selectmen of that town, fearing that these Indians would become paupers, purchased a small tract of land in Deerfield, within the limits of Derby, placed them upon it, and assisted them in building

some huts, in which they dwelt while securing a living by hunting and making baskets. James and Eunice Mack lived by themselves near the turnpike that leads from Seymour to New Haven, and Jerry Mack and four other Indian men, two squaws and three children, dwelt over the hill south of James Mack's, about eighty rods. For a long time the place was called the Indian settlement.

In 1833, a squaw from Milford became the guest of James,—was taken ill, and at once removed back to Milford, where she died of small-pox. Soon after these, nine Indians became ill with the same disease and all died, but the three children being vaccinated by Doct. Kendall, and removed, were saved from the terrible scourge. The Indians were buried in the garden near their huts, by Samuel Bassett and others who had had the small-pox. Great fear prevailed as to the disease, and to secure the community the selectmen ordered the huts to be burned in the night, by which the pestilence was exterminated.

Of these Deerfield Indians, Mr. DeForest wrote in 1852: "One of the women, old Eunice, as she was commonly called, died a number of years since. Her two children, Jim and Ruby, I have often seen coming into my native village to sell parti-colored baskets, and buy provisions and rum. Ruby was short and thick, and her face was coarse and stupid. Jim's huge form was bloated with liquor, his voice was coarse and hollow, and his steps, even when he was not intoxicated, were unsteady from the evil effects of ardent spirits. At present I believe they are all in their graves."

Molly Hatchett.

This woman and her children were for some years the last representatives of the Indians at Turkey Hill, and the vicinity of Derby Landing. Her last dwelling stood on Two-Mile Brook, near the Housatonic, over a cellar place that is still to be seen. This house was built by Lemman Stone, agent for the Indians in Derby,—the workmen being Truman Gilbert, boss carpenter, and his apprentices, David Bradley and Agur Gilbert.⁹ The building was only twelve feet square. She had previously lived for some time with her daughter, a married woman, a little distance

⁹ History of Derby, p. 1.

up the brook, near the highway. In this hut she lived some years, and was visited here by thoughtful neighboring women, to see that she should not be neglected in her last days, and here she died. She was a wanderer upon the earth for many years, but wherever she went she always received a cheerful welcome, and was never turned away with an empty basket, nor with unkind words. She was looked upon with sympathy as the last of a race who would never more return. She visited many families regularly each year, selling her fancy baskets, and bestowing upon every new baby a basket-rattle, in which she put six kernels of corn, but if the mother had more than six children, she made the number of kernels correspond to them.

In her old age, when she could no longer go her rounds, the Derby people at the Narrows visited her frequently, administering relief and comfort as they were able, and when parting with her one day, a neighboring woman said: "It is too bad, Molly, that you should die in such a hut as this." "O no," she replied, "I shall soon have a better home in heaven, where I shall meet the pale faces with the Great Spirit." Her funeral was decently attended, Lemah Stone arranging the ceremonies, his workmen acting as pall-bearers. In the parish record of St. James's Church, in the hand-writing of the Rev. Stephen Jewett, appears the following:

"1829, January 17, died Molly Hatchett, Indian, aged nearly one hundred, buried by Rev. W. Swift."

She was the wife of John Hatchett, who died at an early age, and is said to have been a descendant of old Chuse, who lived at Humphreysville. Molly had four children. She lived some years with her son Joseph, then with her daughter who was married, and finally alone in her hut, overlooking the beautiful Housatonic. Most of her descendants are said to have settled at Scatacook in Kent.

Molly Hatchett possessed a tall, erect, muscular personage, with piercing black eyes, and long black hair falling over her shoulders, and as such was a good illustration of the race she represented. She usually wore a white blanket shawl and a man's hat, and nearly always carried a hatchet, from which last fact, it has been stated, she derived her name. Being quick in intellectual qualities, she was seldom overreached in witticisms—hav-

ing but one particular failing, that of the love of "uncupe," as she called rum.

She often corrected the white man's pronunciation of Indian names. "You must call them as did the old 'Ingins,' Nau-ga-tuck, Hou-sa-to-nuck." When she received a gift her reply was, "*Arumshemoke*," thank you. "Now you must say *tuputney*, you are welcome." Her real name was Hatchett, a fact which is surprising, but she was often called "*Magawiska*."

Of her the following lines were written by Doct. J. Hardyer, a native of Derby, who removed to Stratford, where he died at the early age of twenty-nine years :

Deserted and drear is the place
Where huts of my fathers arose ;
Alone, and the last of my race,
I watch where their ashes repose.
The calumet now is no more,
No longer the hatchet is red,
The wampum our warriors once wore
Now slumbers along with the dead.
The day of our glory is gone,
The night of our sorrow is here ;
No more will our day-star arise,
No more our sunlight appear.
Once we listened to the war-song,
Once sailed on the Naugatuck's wave ;
The arm of the hunter was strong,
The soul of the warrior was brave.
Now lonely and drear is the place
Where huts of my kindred arose ;
Alone ! and the last of my race,
I watch where their ashes repose.

Indian Burying-Places in Derby.

The first of these was doubtless just above the Narrows, which was commenced before the English settled at Derby, and where more skeletons have been disturbed than at any other place. A few years since, while Mr. Lewis Hotchkiss was putting up some buildings near the Hallock mills, at the Derby Station, a large quantity of bones was discovered, and the probabilities are that the Indians continued to bury here until Revolutionary times, or about one hundred years after the first settlement of the whites.

The burying-place at Turkey Hill was commenced, probably,

when they ceased to bury at the old place above the Narrows, and there were but few buried here.

Another place was used after the beginning of the English settlement, at the New Fort, on the east side of the Housatonic, a little above the present dam.

At Chusetown there were two places, one on each side of the river, and the numerous graves at this place indicate a longer occupancy of the place by the Indians, or a larger number in the tribe while settled here, than has usually been supposed to be the facts.

Another burying-place is still to be noticed on Horse Hill, directly east of Ansonia—the place called in the very early records, "White Mare Hill."

As the Farmington Indians have been included in this survey of the ancient tribes, the monument erected at that place in 1840 may be referred to. On the bank of the river, looking out upon Farmington Valley and Indian Neck, stands a block of coarse sandstone, bearing the following inscription, which is becoming rapidly obliterated :

In memory of the Indian race, especially of the Tunxis tribe, the ancient tenants of these grounds.

The many human skeletons here discovered confirm the tradition that this spot was formerly an Indian burial-place. Tradition further declares it to be the ground on which a sanguinary battle was fought between the Tunxis and the Stockbridge tribes. Some of their scattered remains have been reinterred beneath this stone.

The reverse side of the monument bears the following lines :

Chieftains of a vanished race,
In your ancient burial-place,
By your fathers' ashes blest,
Now in peace securely rest.
Since on life you looked your last,
Changes o'er your land have passed ;
Strangers came with iron sway,
And your tribes have passed away.
But your fate shall cherished be
In the stranger's memory ;
Virtue long her watch shall keep,
Where the Red man's ashes sleep.

Some few marks or foot-prints of the Red man still remain in Derby. Close by the New Haven and Derby Railroad, a little below the Narrows, is an Indian corn-mill, or mortar, sunk in the

bed rock, a little south of the ravine called the "Devil's Jump," and near this place are said to be two other mortars, likewise made in the bed rock. Here for many years the Indians ground their corn for daily bread.

Lover's Leap is a little way up the river from these mortars, consisting of a high rock, almost overhanging the river.

Several Indian axes are preserved in the community, two of which have been seen—one being made of blue stone, and is the size of an ordinary English axe, or a little larger.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INDIAN AS AN ENEMY.



WE have been tracing, thus far, the footsteps of a departing friend ; we have also to trace the coming and going tracks of a wily and cruel enemy.

The first war in Connecticut was that waged against the Pequots, in the very beginning of its history as a colony. The Pequots were of the Algonkin stock, but did not belong to the same family as the other Connecticut tribes. "The Pequots and Mohegans were, apparently, of the same race with the Mohicans, Mohegans or Mohicanders, who lived on the banks of the Hudson." They were therefore without allies in the war, and were not only defeated, but practically extinguished by it. This was in 1636, and King Philip's war did not begin until forty years later. In the interval, which was a period of undisturbed peace, the settlement of Farmington took place on the one side, and of Milford and Stratford on the other. The settlement of Derby, as we have seen, was begun as early as 1654, and in 1657 the deed was given in which Mattatuck is mentioned—the land around the hill where the black lead was found.

It was during this era of peace that the meadow lands of Naugatuck were discovered. Preparations had been begun for the settlement of Waterbury, when the colony was startled by the cry of war. The first intimation of a misunderstanding between Philip, who was the chief of the Wampanoags in southeastern Massachusetts, and the colonists, was in April, 1671. From this time, if not before this, Philip skillfully planned to unite all the New England tribes against the whites in a war of extermination. The want of friendship among the tribes rendered this a difficult undertaking, but he succeeded so far as to extend his operations

¹ J. W. DeForest, 59.

from the St. Croix river to the Housatonic. An Indian league was formed, and the result was the most formidable war the colonists had ever sustained. Hostilities actually commenced on the 24th of June, 1675, and were terminated by the defeat and death of Philip fourteen months afterward.

In this bloody conflict the colonists lost six hundred men, while thirteen towns were totally, and eleven partially, destroyed. The eastern part of Connecticut, being nearer the centre of the conflict, suffered more seriously than the western; but the valley of Naugatuck was by no means exempt from anxiety, danger, and trouble. If there had been no other sources of hardship, the enactments passed by the General Court and Council—which have been correctly characterized as “equivalent to the putting of the whole colony under martial law”—must have come heavily upon such new settlements as Derby. At a meeting of the Council, held on the 1st of September, 1675, it was reported “that the Indians were in a hostile manner prepared with their arms near Paugasuck;” and this, with other similar reports (which seem now to have been almost wholly without foundation), led the Council to pass a stringent law in reference to the carrying of arms by Indians:

“The Council sees cause to order that whatsoever Indian or Indians with arms shall be espied traveling in any of the precincts of our township without an Englishman be with him, if they do not call to such English traveling as they may see, and also lay down their arms, with professing themselves friends, it shall be lawful for the said English to shoot at them and destroy them for their own safety; which it is our duty to provide for thus in time of war.”

This was a provision wholly on the side of the white man and at the peril of the Indian, as nearly all laws on the subject have been. Two days afterward it was ordered by the Council that in each plantation a sufficient watch should be kept “from the shutting in of the evening till the sun rise,” and that one-fourth part of each town should be in arms every day by turns. “It is also ordered that during these present commotions with the Indians, such persons as have occasion to work in the fields shall work in companies, if they be half a mile from the town, not less than six in company, with their arms and ammunition

well fixed and fitted for service." In October the General Court, in view of "great combinations and threatenings of the Indians against the English," ordered that sixty soldiers should be raised in each county, "well fitted with horse, arms, and ammunition, as dragoons;" that places of refuge should be fortified in every settlement, to be defended by such persons as the chief military officer in each town should appoint to that work; and in case of an assault by an enemy, or an alarm, any one who should willingly neglect the duty to which he had been appointed should be punished with death, or such other punishment as a court-martial should adjudge to him. The "places of refuge" were fortifications constructed of timbers placed vertically in the ground, so close together that no one could pass between. Such a wooden wall, with doors properly secured, afforded good protection against hostile Indians; and to a house thus defended the population could resort with safety at night, and return in the morning to their own houses. In the following March it was further ordered by the Council, "in regard of the present troubles that are upon us, and the heathen still continuing their hostilities against the English, and assaulting the plantations," that the watch in the several settlements, an hour at least before day, should call up the several inhabitants within their respective wards, who should forthwith rise and arm themselves and march to their several quarters, there to stand upon their guard to defend the town against any assault of the enemy, until the sun be half an hour high. Mounted scouts, also, were to be sent out from every town to watch for the enemy, "going so far into the woods as they may return the same day, to give an account of what they shall discover."

At the same time it was ordered that "whosoever shall shoot off a gun without command from some military commander, until further order be given by authority, he shall forfeit for every such transgression the sum of five shillings."

It was under such circumstances that Derby asked advice of the Court what they should do to secure themselves from harm, and received this answer:

"October 14, 1675. The Court return that they judge it the best and safest way to remove their best goods and their corn, what they can of it, with their wives and children, to some bigger

town, who, in a way of Providence, may be in a better capacity to defend it, and those that stay in the town do well fortify themselves and stand upon their guard, and hasten their removal of their corn, as aforesaid, what they may ; and all inhabitants belonging to the place may be compelled by warrant from any Assistant to reside there until this be done. The like advice is by this Court given to all small places and farms throughout this colony, to be observed."

It will be seen by this that all were to remain until the corn was mostly gathered, which would be about a month, but it soon became apparent that the Mohegan and Pequot Indians, and the Indians west of the Connecticut river, were not in the league against the English, and could be trusted as friends and allies in defending the colonies. And the first fright of the people on the Housatonic having passed away, and the fact that the Indians of Milford had appealed to the court for protection, gave strong assurances that the western planters were comparatively safe. For the Indians had complained to the Council about this time of severe treatment from the English, and the Council wisely and properly ordered that special care should be observed not to give the Indians reason for unkind feelings.

In the autumn of 1675, the Rev. Mr. Bowers of Derby, and the Rev. Mr. Walker of Woodbury, with several families from each plantation, removed to Milford, and remained about one year, for in October, 1676, in a letter addressed to the General Court, they say : "We make bold before our return, to request this honored Court to resolve us in one important inquiry, namely : In case the war with the Indians should be again renewed, what may we expect and trust to, from the authority of this colony, in order to our protection ?" It is quite certain also, that all the families did not remove from these localities, but, probably, fortified some place for a resort if occasion should require, and were not harmed, but the rather protected by the neighboring Indians. We learn from President Stiles' "History of the Judges," that the house of Edward Riggs of Derby was fortified in the years of the early settlement, and if so, was probably again made as a fort for the protection of the people during this war of 1675.

King Philip's war and its influence upon the fortunes of Wa-

terbury, we should naturally suppose, must have been slight, for the simple reason that Waterbury was not yet settled, but it is probably owing to that war that Waterbury is where it is; and it would not be unreasonable to connect the course of its later history as a manufacturing centre, and therefore its modern prosperity, with the same event. As we have seen, the first purchase of land around Waterbury centre was made in August, 1674. It was during the same season that a site was selected for the contemplated village, and there seems to have been no thought at first of any other site than the elevated plateau on the west side of the river, overlooking the meadows and the amphitheater amidst the hills where the city is now situated. The land on the east side was low and swampy, and full of springs; that on the west side was elevated and airy; and accordingly in this latter situation (known ever since as the Town Plot) roads were laid out, the one which ran north and south being sixteen rods wide. The "home lots," measuring eight acres each, were ranged along this road or street, sixteen on each side. This was accomplished in the autumn of 1674, and apparently nothing more than this was accomplished that year. So far as can now be seen the settlers would have returned in the following year to resume their work and erect dwellings on the Town Plot, had it not been that in June, 1675, the war with King Philip began, placing the whole country into great excitement and confusion; when not only was all thought of establishing new settlements abandoned, but some of those already commenced were broken up. There was no assured peace until the latter part of 1676, and meanwhile the Waterbury proprietors (unless indeed some of them went forth to the war) remained in their Farmington homes. In the spring of 1677, tranquillity being restored throughout the colony, they began again to make plans for a new settlement; but in the meantime they had learned to think of the dangers which surrounded them. For several reasons they had become dissatisfied with the site they had chosen on the west side; but the chief reason, the imperative argument against it, was the increased exposure it involved to attacks from hostile savages. At the best, Farmington was twenty miles away—the only place to which they could look for succor or refuge in case of attack—and they did not deem it best to place between

them and their friends, in addition to this broad expanse of wilderness, a fickle and sometimes destructive river. A meeting of proprietors was accordingly called in Farmington, and a committee appointed "to view and consider whether it will not be more for the benefit of the proprietors in general to set the town on the east side of the river, contenting themselves with less home lots." On the east side of the river it was set, and the committee of the General Court, in October following, ordered that the inhabitants of the new plantation "should settle near together, for the benefit of Christian duties and defence against enemies." It thus appears that the present position of the city of Waterbury, the industrial and vital centre of the Naugatuck valley, is itself a memorial of the Red man; a reminder of the perils of war, and the cruelty of the Indian as an enemy.

It was natural that the colonists, knowing the character of the Indian and his modes of warfare, should live in a state of chronic anxiety. But from this time forward the people of Connecticut had no trouble with the Connecticut Indians. The league with King Philip was an episode in the history of these tribes; their normal relation to white men was one of friendship, and, in real fact, of large dependence. They were the more anxious to be on terms of friendship with the settlers, especially in the western part of the colony, because they could then look to them as their allies and defenders when exposed to attacks from their relentless foes, the Mohawks. As already pointed out, the Indians of Connecticut, the Pequots included, belonged to the great Algonkin family of the Red race. The Mohawks belonged to an entirely different stock: they were one of the "nations" of the great confederacy which occupied the territory now comprising the State of New York west of the Hudson, and a part of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and represented the Iroquois family of the Red man. So totally distinct were these two families or stocks, that between the one group of languages and the other—the Algonquin languages and the Iroquois—no verbal resemblances can be traced. There are, of course, resemblances in grammatical structure, for all the Indian languages seem to be formed upon the one plan of thought, but the vocabularies are totally different. As indicated by the stage of development they had reached, the Iroquois were the foremost people in aboriginal

America north of Mexico, and the Mohawks were the first of the Iroquois. At the time of the Discovery they were waging wars of conquest, if not of extermination, upon their neighbors on every side, and the tribes of Connecticut, west of Connecticut river, were tributary to them ; paying an annual tax, and groaning under the capricious cruelties meted to them. The coming of the white man to the Connecticut shores was therefore a welcome relief to these feeble tribes, and it was, of course, desirable in their eyes to have the white man for a friend.

The Connecticut colonists had nothing to fear from the Connecticut tribes on the one hand, nor from the Mohawks on the other, because the confederacy of the Five Nations was on terms of friendship with the English, and after 1684 had a treaty with them ; but trouble came frequently from another quarter. The Indians of Canada—hostile alike to the Mohawks and the New England tribes—were the constant allies and subjects of the French government and employed by it in war. Whenever, therefore, war raged between France and England, the French let loose their Indian allies upon the New England settlements, and terror reigned among the colonists. The condition of the settlements under such circumstances may be partially conceived when we are reminded that from 1689, the year when William and Mary ascended the throne of England, to 1713, when peace was proclaimed at Utrecht, with the exception of three or four years, France and England were continually at war, and the colonies continually involved in hostilities. The French aimed to expel the English from the northern and middle provinces, if not from the continent ; and the English, on their part, made repeated attempts to dislodge the French from Canada ; a result which they finally effected at a later period. As the French availed themselves of the services of their Indian allies, they kept the frontiers in a state of continual alarm. The savages from Canada often penetrated into the heart of the colonies, spreading terror and desolation in every quarter. They destroyed crops, drove off cattle, burned dwellings, and murdered the inhabitants or carried them away into captivity.

During this later war period the town of Derby, in the lower part of the valley, could hardly be considered a frontier settlement, but Waterbury was decidedly so, at least until the settle-

ment of Litchfield in 1620, and shared in all the alarms, dangers, disasters, and burdens of the times. Through a large part of the period now under consideration, Waterbury, in common with the other frontier towns (Simsbury, Woodbury, and Danbury), was required to keep two men employed as scouts. The business of these men was to keep a good lookout to discover the designs of the enemy, and to give intelligence should they make their appearance. The citizens performed this duty in rotation, taking their stand on elevated places overlooking the village and meadows where men were at work. In 1690 the danger of invasion and attack was considered so imminent that the General Court established a military watch throughout the colony, upon which "all male persons whatsoever (except negroes and Indians), upwards of sixteen years of age," were compelled to do duty. Widows and aged or disabled persons, whose estates were valued at fifty pounds, were to serve by proxy, and those absent at sea or elsewhere were to provide substitutes. At the same time (April, 1690) it was ordered "that the fortifications in each town appointed to be made forthwith, be finished according to the appointment of the authority and commission officers and selectmen in each town." Several years afterward, in March, 1704, another order was issued in regard to fortifications: "The inhabitants of every town in this colony shall be called together with as convenient speed as may be, to consider what houses shall be fortified." But already the town of Waterbury had moved in this direction; for, on the 9th of April, 1700, they had voted to fortify the house of Ens. Timothy Stanley, "and if it should prove troublesome times, and the town see they have need, two more, should they be able." It was voted also to "go about it forthwith—all men and boys and teams that are able to work, and to begin to-morrow." Four years later—not long after the order of the General Court concerning fortifications was issued—they voted to build another fort, and selected for this purpose the house of their pastor, the Rev. John Southmayd. In the meantime they had provided other means of defense. On the 15th of April, 1703, the town instructed the selectmen "to provide a town stock of ammunition according to law"—a law which required that each town should keep "a barrel of good powder, two hundred weight of bullets, and three hundred flints, for

every sixty listed soldiers, and after that proportion." The stock was duly purchased, and Timothy Stanley, who was by this time Lieutenant and commander of the "trainband," was made keeper of ammunition for the town. The order of the General Court in respect to fortifications was followed up, at the regular session in May, by other enactments affecting the town of Waterbury. Eight towns, one of which was Waterbury, were designated as frontier towns, "and it was ordered that these should not be broken up or voluntarily deserted without permission from the General Court." It was as follows :

"That ten men shall be put in garrison in each of these towns, Danbury, Woodbury; Waterbury, and Simsbury; and that the rest of the men to be raised out of the counties of New Haven and Fairfield, with such Indians as can be procured . . . shall have their chief head-quarters at Westfield; . . . and said company of English and Indians shall, from time to time, at the discretion of their commander, range the woods to endeavor the discovery of any approaching enemy, and in especial manner from Westfield to Ousatunnuck" [that is, Stockbridge].

As already stated, the whole period now under view was a time of anxiety and alarms. But early in 1707, the colony was aroused to special diligence in preparations for defence, by the intelligence "that the French and enemy Indians were preparing to make a descent upon the frontier towns of New England." There was also reason to suppose that the "Pootatuck and Weantanuck Indians (the Woodbury and New Milford tribes) had been invited to join the enemy, and that measures must be taken to secure their fidelity and to preserve the small frontier towns."² It was further "resolved, that the inhabitants of Waterbury fortify their houses sufficiently for their safety;" and in view of their great losses which the town had recently sustained through extraordinary floods, it was agreed to recommend to the General Assembly an abatement of the Colony taxes of

² The reports to this effect were probably made by designing persons to involve the Indians in difficulty. It is quite evident now that these Indians had not the slightest inclination to unite against the whites in a war. It was but a few months after this that John Noble, then the only white settler in New Milford (i. e., in the autumn of 1707), left his daughter with the Indians at Weantanuck several weeks or months, while he was absent, and on his return found her safe and the Indians true friends.

the town. At the same session it was resolved still further, "that the inhabitants of Woodbury, Waterbury, and Danbury do every one of them maintain a good scout, out every day, from their respective towns, of two faithful and trusty men, to observe the motions of the enemy." These resolutions were passed in council, in February, 1707. In the same month the town of Waterbury responded, by voting "to build the fort that is at Lieut. Stanley's *strong*," and "build a new fort at the east end of the town." These defences were left for a time incomplete; but in June, aroused perhaps by some new alarm, it was voted, "considering our troubles and fear of an enemy, to lay aside cutting bushes" (according to a law then in force for the purpose of making pasture in the sparsely-timbered portions of the vicinity), "and this day forthwith to go about finishing and repairing the forts, and to finish them by Wednesday next at night." That they were duly finished and the defences of the settlement made satisfactory to the General Assembly, appears from the fact that at the October session the Assembly "allowed to the town of Waterbury fifteen pounds out of the country rate," in view of the expense they had incurred in fortifying. A year afterwards, in an act "for the encouragement of military skill and good discipline," it was ordered by the Assembly that the committee of war in Hartford county should establish garrisons in several towns, one of which was Waterbury, at the charge of the colony or of the respective towns as the committee should order. Two garrisoned forts were established at Waterbury at the expense of the colony, and a third at the expense of the town. One of these forts was at the west end of the town, around Mr. Southmayd's house, one at Lieut. Stanley's, and the third at the house of John Hopkins, the grandfather of the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., the famous theologian. This house, in which Dr. Hopkins was born in 1721, stood a short distance east from the centre of the city, on the corner of East Main and Brook streets. The forts, it will be seen, were situated so as to accommodate the scattered population.

All these defences were prepared with reference to attacks coming from the hostile savages of the north, the allies of the French. The Connecticut Indians were habitually employed by the colonial government as reliable soldiers. An act was passed by the General Court in May, 1704, in the following terms :

"It is ordered by this Court that as many of our friend Indians as are fit for war, and can be prevailed with and furnished with all things suitable, shall go with our forces against the common enemy; and Major Ebenezer Johnson [who has already been mentioned as the owner of Indian slaves] is hereby empowered and ordered to employ suitable persons to acquaint the Indians in the counties of New Haven and Fairfield of this conclusion concerning them, and to furnish such of said Indians as shall offer themselves for the service as aforesaid with arms and ammunition and what else may be needful to fit them out for war, and cause them forthwith to repair to Derby, to march with our English forces under the command of the chief officer for the said service. . . . And this Court allows the [same] wages to such Indian volunteers as those have that have gone to the eastward. . . . And for the encouragement of our forces gone or going against the enemy, this Court will allow out of the public treasury the sum of five pounds for every man's scalp of the enemy [Canada Indians and the French] killed in this colony, to be paid to the person that doth that service, over and above his or their wages and the plunder taken by them."

This last-mentioned provision shows that the General Court not only recognized the Indian taste for scalping, but encouraged it very directly, and when, in 1710, an Indian scout was established, the same encouragement was held out. The scouting company was promised, for each Indian scalp of the enemy brought to the committee of war, the sum of ten pounds, to be divided equally among them. In 1724, the award was fifty pounds for every scalp. Another order, passed at the October session of the General Court, in 1704, shows that the colonial authorities were familiar with the difficulties of the Indian warfare and considered it necessary that the settlers should adopt the Indian's method,—not, indeed, as regards scalping only, but to the extent of wearing moccasins and snow-shoes. It was ordered:

"That every town and plantation in this colony shall be provided with a number of snow-shoes and Indian shoes, no less than one pair of snow-shoes with two pair of Indian shoes for every thousand pounds in the list of the estate of such town, which snow-shoes and Indian shoes shall be provided at or before the tenth day of November next, by the selectmen in every

town, at the charge of the Colony, and shall be kept by them in good repair and fit for service when there may be occasion to make use of them."

Another method of terror which might be designated the "blood-hound system," was adopted in the October Session of 1708, in which it was enacted that there should be "allowed and paid out of the public treasury of this Colony the sum of fifty pounds, in pay for the bringing up and maintaining of dogs in the northern frontier towns in this Colony, to hunt after the Indian enemy." It was also ordered, that no person whatsoever should furnish lead, or sell, even to friendly Indians, any gun for any time, longer or shorter; and that those who had lent guns to friendly Indians, should recover them as soon as possible.

From all this it is evident that the towns and the general government understood the situation of affairs, and were determined to be thoroughly prepared for emergencies. If the defense of the frontiers had been neglected disasters might have come which would have overwhelmed the settlements, as was the case in sections further north, in after years. As it was, the one frontier town of the Naugatuck valley suffered but little, and none others in the Colony except Litchfield, some years later. The only Indian raids upon Waterbury were in 1710, when a party of savages came through Simsbury into what is now the southern part of Thomaston, and killed a man named Holt,—probably a hunter from another town. The place where the deed was committed is named Mount Holt, a spur of Mount Tobe. Another party from Canada, having made their way into the upper part of the town, ascended a hill on the west side of the Naugatuck, opposite Mount Taylor, to reconnoiter. To the south, in Hancock's Meadow, they saw Jonathan Scott, one of the Waterbury settlers, and his two sons, one of them fourteen years of age, the other eleven. Scott was seated under a large oak tree, eating his dinner; the boys were a little distance from him. The Indians approached stealthily, taking such a course that the tree hid them from his view; reached him without being discovered, and made him prisoner. The boys took to their heels and would have escaped, but their father was given to understand that it would cost him his life if he refused to recall them, there-

fore he reluctantly called them back. To prevent him from offering resistance, they cut off his right thumb, and the three were taken to Canada, where they remained until after the proclamation of peace in 1713, when Scott and his eldest son, Jonathan, returned to Waterbury, but the younger son, John, having become accustomed to savage life, preferred to remain among the Indians, and never came home.

It is an interesting fact that the wife of Jonathan Scott, whose name was Hannah Hawks, was the daughter of John Hawks of Deerfield, and that her mother was killed in the Indian attack upon that town, on the 29th of February, 1704. Her only sister was taken prisoner and was put to death on her way to Canada, and her only brother, his wife and his three children were also killed. Mrs. Scott was the sole surviving child, and her father spent his last days with her in Waterbury. After his return from captivity, Scott continued to reside in Waterbury until about 1720, when he removed to Wooster Swamp, in the northern part of Watertown, near Scott's Mountain, where he built a saw-mill, and lived with his sons. There is a tradition that he died in violence, at the hands of the Indians, while on his way to the north, but it seems to have no foundation in fact. The other tradition is more probable—that he was buried on Scott's Mountain, where his supposed grave is pointed out.³

The capture of Scott and his sons very naturally produced great excitement in Waterbury and the whole region of country. The settlement was very weak, for in 1713 it numbered only thirty-five families, and not more than two hundred souls; and the greatness of the impending danger could not be known, neither could disaster be completely guarded against by the utmost vigilance. The news of the calamity fled as on wings that afternoon, and the scattered families from every direction fled for Waterbury as the only hope of life or safety. Just at dusk a citizen living on Buck's Hill, about four miles from Waterbury, reached his home, having been in the region of Waterville, not far from the place where the Scotts were taken, and in the greatest confusion he gathered his family of several children, put his wife and some of them on his horse, and taking others in his arms, hasted with them to Waterbury, leaving everything at

³ Bronson's History Waterbury, 105, 106, 185.

home, to be found in all probability, as he supposed, if he should ever return to it, in ashes and ruins. Nearly one hundred and seventy years have passed since that day of great excitement, and yet, at the narration or mention of the sad day, the countenances of some of the elderly people of that part of the country, will light up with great excitement at the remembrance of the story which has been so often repeated when they were young, by the older inhabitants of that community.

In July following the capture of Scott, the town appointed a committee, consisting of the Rev. John Southmayd and three others, "to draw up in writing the circumstances of the town in this time of war," and to present the memorial to the General Court in New Haven, in August. That body, in response, made special provision for the protection of the town, by appointing "a committee of war, with full power upon the application of the inhabitants of the said town of Waterbury, and in case of danger on the approach of the enemy, to raise and send men thither from the county of New Haven for their relief, by scouting or lying in garrison there, as occasion may require."

There was no further trouble, however, and the proclamation of peace in 1713 brought relief from apprehension, but the upper part of the valley was visited with similar calamities some years later. Before war broke out again, a settlement had been effected at Litchfield, and when Indian raids from the north were renewed, Litchfield was the frontier town and exposed to the same perils which Derby and Waterbury had previously experienced. Between 1720 and 1730, five houses in different parts of that town were surrounded with fortifications, that is, with palisades similar to those already described. Soldiers were stationed in the town to guard the inhabitants while in the fields, and also while at public worship on the Sabbath. For a number of years seats were particularly appropriated for "the guards" in the old meeting-house in Derby. Notwithstanding these precautions, attacks were made by northern savages, and settlers were taken captive. In May, 1721, Capt. Jacob Griswold, while at work alone in a field about a mile to the west of the present Court-House, was suddenly seized by two Indians who had rushed upon him from the woods, who pinioned his arms, carried him away, traveling in a northerly direction, and reached by

night a spot within the limits of what is now the town of Canaan. They kindled a fire, and having bound Capt. Griswold hand and foot, lay down to sleep. In the night Griswold succeeded in disengaging his hands and feet, and although his arms were still pinioned, he seized their guns and escaped. After traveling a short distance through the dark woods, he sat down and waited for the dawn, when he resumed his journey, still carrying the two guns. When the savages found in the morning their captive gone, they pursued and soon overtook him. During the greater part of the day they kept in sight of him, but when they came too near he pointed one of the guns at them, and this kept them at bay. In this manner he traveled until near sunset, when, on reaching a high place in an open field about a mile north of where he was captured, he discharged one of the guns, which immediately summoned his townsmen to his assistance. The Indians fled and Griswold was restored in safety to his family.

After this occurrence the settlers were more cautious; but their watchfulness did not last long, for in the following August a more serious misfortune came upon them. The victim this time was Joseph Harris, who was at work alone in the woods, not far from the spot where Griswold was captured, when he was attacked by a party of Indians. Attempting to escape, the Indians pursued him, and finding that he was likely to outstrip them they shot him dead and scalped him. As Harris did not return home at the usual time, the inhabitants became alarmed about him. They searched for him as long as they could see, and again in the morning, when his body was found near the north end of the plain, where the road turns towards Milton. From that time forward the plain was called Harris' Plain. He was buried in the west burying-ground, near the church; his grave remaining unmarked for more than a century, when, in 1830, a suitable monument was erected over his dust, which bears the following inscription, in which it will be observed there is no reference to his attempt to escape:

"In memory of Joseph Harris, who was murdered by the Indians in the year 1721. While ploughing in the field, about three fourths of a mile northwest of the graveyard, he was shot by the Indians concealed in ambush. He was found dead, sitting on the ground, his head and body reclining against the trunk of a tree. To record the first death among the original settlers, and to perpetuate the memory of a worthy but

unfortunate citizen, this monument is erected, 1830, by the voluntary benefactions of individual subscribers."

The war between the French and English was not ended until some time after this, and the attacks of the northern Indians upon the frontier settlements was still continued. In August, 1723, tidings were brought to the Governor and Council of an attack upon Rutland and the massacre of several persons by the hostile Indians. They were also advised that about three hundred French and Indians were come over Lake Champlain toward Connecticut, probably with evil designs. It was therefore "resolved that Simsbury and Litchfield are frontier towns of this Colony, westward of Connecticut river, which are most exposed to danger by these parties of Indians;" and in view of the impending dangers, it was decided that the commissioned officers of these towns should immediately call together the householders in the respective towns, agree on suitable places for garrisons, and encourage the inhabitants to establish such fortifications with speed; also, that the Sachems of the several bodies of Indians in the colony should "forthwith call in all their Indians that were out a hunting in the woods, and that they do not presume to go out again in the woods to hunt north of the road that goes from Farmington through Waterbury and Woodbury to New Milford," without leave from the Council; also, that two scouting parties, consisting each of three English and six Indians, should range the woods above Simsbury, westward to Stockbridge, to be so ordered that they should meet each other about midway between the two places; and finally, that a military watch should be kept in the towns of Simsbury, Waterbury, Woodbury, Litchfield, and New Milford. In May following, the rule in relation to Indians hunting was enacted as a law by the General Court; and in July, in view of the danger of giving false alarms, the same rule was extended by the Council to English and Indians alike. The spring and summer of 1724 was a period of special alarm and excitement. In that year, the Assembly gave Waterbury authority to employ six men "to guard the men in their outfields, at the discretion of the commission officers of said town." The authority thus given was exercised about a month. In Litchfield a small party of Indians was discovered lurking about the town on the night of the 19th

of May. Word being sent immediately to the Council at Hartford, it was ordered that a company of thirty-two men be immediately raised in Hartford, Wethersfield, and Farmington, and marched to the threatened town without delay, to serve as a scouting party. On the 21st of June, it was ordered that ten men be impressed, armed and equipped, and sent to Litchfield for the defence of that town against the enemy. As some of the proprietors of home-lots in Litchfield tried to escape from serving on the military watch, Capt. John Marsh was instructed to see that the law was duly executed upon all such persons. A line of scouts was established, extending from Litchfield to Turkey Hills, curving around the most northerly and westerly settlements in Simsbury. Capt. Richard Case, of the latter town, was directed to employ ten men on his scouting party, to rendezvous at Litchfield. These men continued in the service until October. So serious were the apprehensions of attack, and so threatening the danger, that some of the more timid of the Litchfield settlers deserted their new homes and sought a refuge elsewhere, and as the inhabitants felt themselves greatly crippled by these desertions, they petitioned the Assembly for aid, and it was ordered (Oct. 11, 1724) that whoever had left the town because of difficulties which had arisen there on account of the enemy, and should fail within a month of the close of that session of the Assembly to return to the town to abide there, or else to send some man in his stead to perform military duties, should forfeit all his right and estate in the lands of the town. At the same session of the Assembly, it was ordered that the garrison soldiers at Litchfield be withdrawn and disbanded. But, in the following April, tidings were brought "from Philip Schuyler of Albany, that the enemies were all come over the Lake," and thereupon the soldiers in the several frontier towns, including Litchfield and Waterbury, were ordered to "be in perpetual readiness to defend themselves and offend the enemy;" and a constables' watch was set up in the towns. A company of twenty-one men was also raised and sent to Litchfield, "to be improved in scouting, watching, and warding for the safety of said town." In May, 1725, the Assembly, "taking into consideration the difficulties of the town of Litchfield in this time of trouble with the Indians," ordered that non-resident propri-

etors should pay and forfeit toward defraying the cost of defending the town the sum of thirty pounds each per annum, and *pro rata* for any time they should be absent without permission ; "provided, however, that the right of Joseph Harris is saved from any forfeiture by force of this act."

The stringency of these enactments shows that the General Court not only appreciated the great importance of defending the frontier rather than abandoning it, but anticipated a prolonged and severe conflict. There is little trace, however, of further troubles until many years afterward. A quarter of a century passed away before another French and Indian war broke out, and that was the last of the series. In 1752, the old allied enemies of the Colony were making encroachments on the northern and western frontiers ; those frontiers not having yet advanced beyond the present bounds of the country. In a historical sketch of the churches and ministers of that region is the following :

"The times, circumstances, and duties of these pastors were in some respects peculiar. Their location was in the frontier settlements and open to the incursions of savages. Instead of directing their attention to Christianizing the heathen, they had, in common with others, to exert all their influence to prevent their coming under the dominion of a persecuting Roman Catholic government. In the former part of this period, the great question was, "Shall we continue to enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty, or fall under the dominion of a colossal anti-Christian power?"

In 1756, war was formally declared by England. The capture of Fort William Henry, in 1757, by the French and Indians under Montcalm, and the Indian atrocities connected therewith, aroused the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and a force was raised which was meant to arrest the further progress of the French. In 1759 the invasion of Canada was undertaken, and on the 18th of September, as every body knows, Quebec was captured, the dominion of the French on the St. Lawrence was broken, and the New England colonies were delivered from further incursions of the hostile tribes of the north.

In this war the towns of the Naugatuck and Housatonic valleys were well represented. Waterbury sent a company of thirty-five

men, under the command of Capt. Eldad Lewis, and besides these thirty-five, eighteen or twenty others are mentioned in the history of the town as having been engaged, at one time or another, in the war, including the Rev. Mark Leavenworth, who went as Chaplain. Another Waterbury man, Israel Calkins, played a part not altogether unimportant in shaping the course of events. When Fort William Henry, situated at the head of Lake George, was besieged, the English General, Webb, with an army of four thousand men, was at Fort Edward, fourteen miles away. Instead of marching to the relief of the imperiled fort, General Webb wrote a letter to Colonel Monroe advising him to capitulate. The messenger was interrupted by the Indian allies of Montcalm. But the French commander thinking that the delivery of the letter to Col. Monroe would promote his own interest, forwarded it to its own destination, and the surrender of the fort quickly followed. Now the messenger who carried the letter of General Webb was Israel Calkins of Waterbury. After the surrender of the fort he remained in the hands of his Indian captors, and was taken by them to Canada. Here he was "redeemed by a French gentleman," sent to France as a prisoner-of-war, and finally sent in a cartel ship to England to be exchanged. He landed at Boston on the 6th of October, 1758, and immediately petitioned the Legislature of Connecticut "for an allowance of wages during his captivity," and also a gratuity, in consideration of the severe calamities he had suffered, which, he affirmed, "were more than words can express or imagination paint." He speaks of his property as having been dissipated during his absence, and of his family as extremely destitute, and "implores the pity and compassion of the honorable Assembly." His prayer was heard and thirty pounds were granted him.

There is one more story belonging to the early history of Litchfield, which it is proper to record here. It illustrates, like other incidents which have been mentioned, the Indian mode of warfare, but at the same time brings to view some of the better traits of the Indian nature. It is taken, in a somewhat abridged form, from the "Travels in New England and New York," of President Dwight of Yale College, who vouches for its authenticity.

Not many years after the settlement of Litchfield, a stranger Indian came one day to a tavern in the town, in the dusk of the evening, and asked the hostess for some drink and a supper. He told her he could pay for neither, as he had had no success in hunting, but promised payment at some future time. The hostess refused him, called him a lazy, good-for-nothing fellow, and told him she did not work hard to throw away her earnings upon such creatures as he. A white man who sat by, saw in the Indian's face that he was suffering severely from want and weariness, and directed the woman of the house to feed him at his expense.

When the Indian had finished his supper, he turned to his benefactor, thanked him, and assured him he would remember his kindness, and if possible repay him for it. For the present he could only reward him with a story. "I suppose," said the Indian, "you read the Bible?" The man assented. "Well," said he, "the Bible say, God made the world, and then he took him and looked on him, and say 'It is all very good.' He made light, and took him and looked on him, and say, 'It's all very good.' Then he made dry land and water, and sun, and moon, and grass, and trees, and took him and looked on him, and say, 'It's all very good.' Then he made beasts and birds and fishes, and took him and looked on him, and say, 'It's all very good.' Then he made man, and took him and looked on him, and say, 'It's all very good.' Then he made woman, and took him and looked on him; and he no dare say one such word."

Having told his story, the Indian withdrew, with a sly glance at the landlady.

Some years after, the man who had befriended him, having occasion to go some distance into the wilderness between Litchfield and Albany, was taken prisoner by an Indian scout and hurried away to Canada. When he arrived at the principal seat of the tribe, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, it was proposed that he should be put to death; but an old Indian woman demanded that he should be given to her, that she might adopt him in place of a son whom she had lost in the war. He was given to her, and spent the succeeding winter in her family. The next summer, while at work alone in the forest, an unknown Indian came to him and asked him to meet him at a place which he pointed out, on a given day. The captive agreed to the pro-

posal ; but before the day arrived, his apprehensions of intended mischief had increased to such a degree, that he determined not to keep the engagement. Soon after, the Indian found him at his work again, reproved him for breaking his promise, and made another appointment with him for another day. This time the white man was true to his word. When he reached the spot he found the Indian provided with two muskets, two knapsacks and ammunition for both. The Indian ordered him to follow him, and set off toward the south. Within a short time the white man's fears subsided, although his companion preserved a profound silence concerning the object of their expedition. In the day-time they shot such game as came in their way, and at night kindled a fire and slept by it. After a tedious journey of many days through the wilderness, they came one morning to an eminence whence they beheld a cleared and partially cultivated country, and a number of houses. The man knew his home ; it was Litchfield. His guide reminded him that some years before, he had relieved the wants of a famished Indian at a tavern in that town, and said, " I that Indian ! now I pay you ! go home." Without another word he bade him farewell, and the white man hastened joyfully to his own house.

The Indian looks out no more from any hill-top upon the cultivated fields of Litchfield, or any part of the valley which was once his own hunting-ground. He is gone, and the succeeding race is glad to be well rid of him. The only remains, except the title-deeds and traditions to which reference has been made, are the few names of places which echo on the white man's lips, the strange tones of their language, and the stone implements which are turned up by the plough in our fields. He is gone. But it is pleasant to think of him, the untutored child of the woods, and to reflect that he had much that was good in him, and not a little that is worthy of remembrance. It may be hoped that what is here given will serve to interest us in his character, and render us wiser and kinder in our estimate of those who bear the same name, who in the far West are still carrying on the same hopeless fight with the relentless forces of the Anglo-Saxon civilization.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INDIANS OF NEW MILFORD.



GOING back to Stratford, the original name of which was Cupheag, is a necessary proceeding in order to gather the straggling remnants of native history as the various settlements are broken up, and their members borne on toward the ever enchanting wilderness and the West. The view which has been taken in the previous part of this history leaves, to be examined, only the territory of New Milford and Kent, to complete the researches originally intended, but, since the Indians at these places were evidently quite numerous, much more so than has sometimes been represented, we return to Stratford deeds, and those of Newtown, as well as a slight reference to Stamford and Norwalk, that the explanations and conclusions, if not the history, may be the more complete.

Soon after selling their lands at Stratford, the Indians gathered under their chief Okenuck at Potatuck, where now the village of Shelton, in Huntington, stands, until the death of his brother Towtanimow and his father Ansantaway, when he (Okenuck) became the "sole Sagamore" of Paugasset, and apparently made his residence with that tribe. The next we learn is that Atterosse is Sagamore of the Potatucks.¹

The Stratford Indians agreed, in 1660, to sell one hundred acres of land, "below Milford men at Pagesutt," on the west side of the river, but the agreement was not recorded as a deed until 1684.²

¹ Stratford deed, August 16, 1668.

Atterosse, Sagamore,
Nanatotush,
Kehore,
Rourkownough,

Poquonat,
Cherakmath,
Chesusumock,
Machetnumledge.

² Stratford deed, June 5, 1660.

Wampeugg,
Acquiump,
Wampeug [2d],

Nansuta,
Onepenny.

In 1671 eight names were attached to a deed, most of them being Potatuck men, if not all, with Chubbs at the head of the list, but he is not said to be Sachem, and Coshoshemack (Chushumack) stands second. Then, in 1671, Chushumack is said to be Sachem,³ and also in another deed, in 1673.⁴

In the deed of 1671, the name "Whimta," which occurs at the head of the paper, is left off at the bottom, or changed to some other. Two other deeds were given in 1671, in confirmation of Stratford lands, which lands had been occupied, much of them, twenty years or more, but the signers were other than Sachems;⁵ and still another in 1684,⁶ having eleven names, only one of them being the same as in 1671.⁷

In these several deeds, from 1668 to 1684—sixteen years—nearly fifty different men are found, most of them, if not all, Potatucks, although some of these deeds were for Derby land, and a few of them are on other deeds as Paugasucks. Upon the estimate heretofore followed, of three men to one signer, the tribe must have numbered one hundred and fifty men, making

³ Stratford deed, April 25, 1671.

Cheshushamack, Sachem,
Wookpenos,
Wesonco,
Pomuntock,
Mataret, the Sachem's eldest son,

Tomo, ye 2d son of Mataret or Toto,
Mohemat,
Chetemhehu,
Oshoron,
Papisconous.

⁴ Stratford deed, June 5, 1673.

Chushamack, Sachem,
Robbin,
Amonequon,
Kehow,

Ponomskut,
Pawanet,
Chawbrook.

⁵ Stratford deed, May 25, 1671. "Indians belonging to Paquanocke."

Suckskow,
Susqua, James,
Peouse,
Totoquan,
Musquatt,

Nesingpaes,
Sasepaquan,
Shoran,
Tatiymo.

⁶ Stratford deed, October 8, 1671.

Musquatt,

Sassapagrem, or Piunquesh.

⁷ Stratford deed, 1684

Papuree,
Ponamscutt,
Acunhee,
Robin,
Matach,
Siacus,

Chickens,
Sashwake, James,
Chrehero,
Nasqueso,
Cheroromogg.

the whole tribe three or four hundred. Their chief locations during this period were Potatuck in Huntington, Potatuck in Newtown, Pomperaug in Woodbury, and Weantinock in New Milford. At their old town, now the village of Shelton, they had a fort when the English first began to settle in Derby, called the "Old Fort," and another soon after called the "New Fort," which stood on what is now called "Fort Hill," near the present Housatonic dam. They also had a burial place, near the Old Fort, from which have been taken, recently, in excavations for foundations for buildings, several skeletons, and a number of stone implements. Two very fine specimens of pestles are in the possession of Henry A. Nettleton, dentist, of Birmingham, Conn.

Some conveyances of land in Stratford in later years should be noticed. The first was given in 1702, and was confirmatory of a preceding deed, and the names at the beginning differ from those at the bottom of the paper so much, that both are here given: "Know all men that we, Pocono, Wemett, Mamameco, Stupon, Paquahon, Cook, and Huest, Indian proprietors at Ouantenock, do sell, etc."*

The second of these deeds states that, "We, Tom, son of Cockapatana, Winham, Curen, Puckwamp, Rauwston, Pequot, Chips, Meskillin, Aukomi, and Robin, all Indians of Milford, . . . for nine pounds current money do sell . . . land in Stratford, near a place called the Narrows, bounded eastward with Stratford river, etc., to Abraham Harger, by way of exchange"—the deed being acknowledged in Derby by Tom and others, June 5, 1714.⁹

The third deed makes revelations peculiar: "Whereas certain Turkey Hill Indians upon Stratford River did about May last, and before, steal sundry sheep from Stratford side, out of Quoram

* Stratford deed, August 19, 1702.

Pocono,
Wemett,
Cush,
Paquahin,

Nunhotuho, Indian interpreter,
Siecus,
Metach,
Mattecus, Pocona's son.

⁹ Stratford deed, May 31, 1714.

Tom,
Curan,
Tinckmow,
Raweton,
Pequot,

Chips,
Winham,
Mishallin,
Achome,
Robin.

Plain, and being convicted thereof before the Authority, viz. : Montague, Tom, Will, Ponocusate, Chashomon, Mojons, Chipunck, Nonoco, Peiwenut, Tom Sachem, Tom Tonee, or Manshanges, engaging to pay eleven pounds, ten shillings in money, and not having money to pay, the said Tom-tonee, Sagamore, in behalf of all the other Indians hath made over two parcels of land."³

This land was taken from the Indian reservation in Stratford, and the deed shows that "Tom King," who was "Mashages," "Manshanges," "Tom Tonee," and "Sagamore," was chief over the Potatuck Indians on their reservation in Stratford. His being said to be of the Turkey Hill Indians, means that he belonged to the Paugasucks and resided at Turkey Hill, while his father was probably residing further up the Housatonic. We shall have occasion to call on "Tom King" hereafter, to know whether he became the far-famed Waraumaug of New Milford.

For more than fifty years the Indians had been gradually moving up the river, to Newtown, and what is now Southbury, until but few were left below these places. Newtown was finally deserted, but some remained at Potatuck, in Southbury, until 1758, when that was forsaken by them, and they found a home at Scatacook.

The Indians at Fairfield and Stratford were not numerous when the English purchased the lands in those townships, and it is probable that some of them retired to the interior of the country and joined their destinies with the different tribes or clans in the valley of the Housatonic; for the names attached to deeds in those localities not only indicate a kindred dialect, but some of them seem to have represented persons afterwards known in the valley of the Housatonic. To illustrate this unity in names and language, a few—the most important deeds—are referred to and the Indian names given.

The first deed at Norwalk was made to Roger Ludlowe in 1640, in which it is agreed "that the Indians of Norwalke, for and in consideration of eight fathom of wampum, six coats, tenn hatchets, tenn hoes, tenn knives, tenn scisors, tenn Jews-harps, tenn

³ Stratford deed, January 7, 1723-4.

Mashages or Tom King,
Tom Will,
Maquees,

Chepoman,
Pinto.

fathom Tobackoe, three kettles of six hands about, tenn looking-glasses, have granted all the lands, meadows, pasturing, trees, whatsoever there is, and grounds between the twoe Rivers, the one called Norwalke, the other Sockatuck, to the middle of said Rivers, from the sea a day's walk into the country, to the said Roger Ludlowe, and his heirs and assignes forever."⁹

Two months later Daniel Patrick bought another tract on the west side of the Norwalk river: "An agreement betwixt Daniell Patrick and Mahackem, and Naramake and Pemenate Hewnompom indians of Norwake and Makentouh, the said Daniel Patrick hath bought of the said three indians, the ground called Sacunyte napucke, allias Meeanworth, thirdly Asumso-wis, fourthly all the land adjoining to the aforementioned, as far up in the cuntry as an indian can goe in a day, from sunrising to sunsettinge; and twoe Islands neer adjoining to the sayde carantenaqueck, all bounded on the west side with noewanton, on the east side to the middle of the River of Norwake, and all trees, meadows, waters, and naturell adjuncts thereunto belonginge, for him and his forever; for which Lands the said indians are to receive of the sayed Daniell Patricke, of wampum tenn fathoms, hatchetts three, howes three, when shippes come; six glasses, twelfe tobackoe pipes, three knifes, tenn drills, tenn needles." . . .¹⁰

Another deed was received in 1650, in confirmation of that received by Daniel Patrick, given by Annanupp, alias Parrott, "by order and Appointment of the Ashowshake and Chachoamer, received of Mstr. Stephen Goodier of New Haven, marchant, the sayed two coates, and fowre fathom of wampum, and doe by their order and in their names, hereby acquit Mr. Stephen Goodier of all dues or demands."¹¹

A deed of land lying west of that bought by Mr. Patrick was given to Richard Webb and his company in 1651 by "Runkin-

⁹ Norwalk deed, Feb. 26, 1640.

Mahachemo, sachem.

Tomakergo,

Tokaneke,

Prosewomienos,

Adam.

¹⁰ Norwalk deed, April 20, 1640.

Mamechom,

Pomenate,

Naromake.

¹¹ Norwalk deed, July 1, 1650.

Annanupp,

Anthitunn.

(Hall's History of Norwalk.)

heage, Piamikin, and Magise, and Towntom, an Winnapucke, and Magushetowes, and Concuskenow, and Wampasum, and Sasseakun, and Runckenunnett, and Pokessake, and Shoakecum, and Soanamatum, and Proday, and Matumpun, and Cockenoe-De-Long-Island, Indians of the one part, . . . in consideration of Thirtie Fathum of Wampum, Tenn Kettles, Fifteen Coates, Tenn payr of Stockings, Tenn Knifes, Tenn Hookes, Twenty Pipes, Tenn Muckes, Tenn needles, to them in hand paid, . . . Have sold . . . all their lands called and known by the name of Runkinheage, Rooaton, or by whatsoever name or names the same is called or known, bounded on the east upon ye land purchased of Captain Patriarke, so called, on the west bounded with the Brooke called Pampaskeshanke, which said brook and passage, the Bounds West, Extendeth up into the Country by marked Trees; and so far as the said Runkinheage, and the rest above mentioned, hath any right or proprietie."¹²

In this deed, as in some others, all the names mentioned in the body of the deed were not attached at the bottom, as signers of the instrument. Also it may be seen that one, Cockenoe, was formerly of Long Island. Several of them sound so much like names among the Potatucks ten and twenty years later, that making some allowance for the different spelling of writers variously educated, and having no standard for spelling Indian names, and who would spell the same English name in a marvelous variety of ways, we shall have no difficulty in seeing at least a photograph likeness among them.

For example, we have here at Norwalk, in 1651, Sasseakum, and in 1671 we have among the Potatucks Sasepaquan and Sasapagrem, a name having the same number of syllables and sounding so much alike as to puzzle any speller, if the words were pronounced in a strange language, which was the case with all these names at first. We find also at the same time in Norwalk Towne Tom, and twenty years later Totoquan at Potatuck.

¹² Norwalk deed, Feb. 15, 1651.

Runkinheage,
Piamikin,
Conkuskenoe,
Sasseakum,
Wampassum,
Sassakun,

Runekemunutt,
Magise,
Winnapucke,
Towne Tom,
Proday,
Pokassake.

Also, Pomenate at Norwalk, and Pawanet at Derby twenty-two years later; Sassakun at the former, and Sasaouson at Derby eight years later.

The fact, as will be seen, that the Stamford Indians mingled in public doings with the Potatucks, and that the Potatucks sold land all the way on the Housatonic to the Massachusetts line, and west from Newtown to the New York line, is quite certain evidence that the Fairfield Indians became identified with those of the Housatonic valley.

Stamford, called originally by the Indians Rippowams, was purchased in 1641, by Capt. Nathaniel Turner, agent for New Haven, of Ponus, sagamore of Toquamshe, and of Wascussue, sagamore of Shipan. These clans were small, but some of these men, or others, living a wandering life thereabouts, caused no small amount of alarm and trouble to the English settlers at a very early period, but which soon ended; some account of which is as follows:

"June 3, 1644. At Stamford, an Indian came into a poor man's house, none being at home but the wife, and a child in the cradle, and taking up a lathing hammer as if he would have bought it, the woman stooping down to take her child out of the cradle, he struck her with a sharpe edge upon the side of her head, wherewith she fell down, and then he gave her two cuts more which pierced into her brains, and so left her for dead, carrying away some clothes which lay at hand. This woman, after a short time, came to herself, and got out to a neighbor's house, and told what had been done to her, and described the Indian by his person and clothes. Whereupon many Indians of those parts were brought before her, and she charged one of them confidently to be the man, whereupon he was put in prison with intent to have him put to death, but he escaped, and the woman recovered, but lost her senses. Sav. Winth. II, 189."

"Aug. 19, 1644. Capt. Turner and Mr. Malbon were chosen deputies for the General Court to be held for this jurisdiction about the trial of an Indian (called Busheage), who is to be arrayed for murder," that is, for the murder of the woman at Stamford.

He was arrested and delivered to the English by Wuchebrough, a Potatuck Indian. The record of the trial is lost, but Winthrop

informs us that "the magistrates of New Haven, taking advice of the elders of those parts, and some here, did put him to death. The executioner would strike off his head with a falchion, but he had eight blows at it before he could effect it, and the Indian sat upright and stirred not all the time. Sav. Winth. II, 189."

"Sep., 1649. This Court taking into serious consideration what may be done according to God in way of revenge of the blood of John Whitmore, late of Stamford, and well weighing all circumstances, together with the carriage of the Indians (bordering thereupon) in and about the premises, do declare themselves that they judge it lawful and according to God to make war upon them."¹³

President Stiles in his "Itinerary," says, the Potatucks, in 1710, numbered fifty warriors, but Mr. De Forest discredits the estimate and represents them as "a small community;" whereas, from the number of signers to deeds given by them during forty years previously, it must be concluded that they were the strongest and most influential tribe west of the Connecticut River from 1670 to 1690, and at 1700 they were most probably equal to the estimate of President Stiles, although they had been emigrating to Weantinock some years.

The real facts are that the name Potatuck included in a general way all the Indian settlements along the Housatonic river to the Massachusetts line, and therefore it is difficult to decide how many warriors each locality could furnish, since they were continually migrating from one place or settlement to another, and then back again to the first, and on any adequate emergency the warriors would have collected from all the several settlements as one army, in one cause.

Weantinock.

This local name belonged to the Indian settlement seated on what is now called, and ever has been by the English, Fort Hill, on the west side of the Housatonic, opposite the village of New Milford, and should never be used to designate the locality at Falls Mountain, two miles further down the river, the Indian name for which was Metichawan.

¹³ Col. Rec. I, 197.

Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, whose knowledge of the Indian language and Indian history is not surpassed by any one in the State, if in New England, in his recent work on "Indian Names in Connecticut,"¹¹ says of Weantinock: "It may, however, designate the place where the river 'winds about the hill,' waën-adn-auke; or, 'land about the hill.'" This is the precise case in a very marked degree, for the river, for some distance on the west of Long Mountain, runs due south, then turns around the end of Long Mountain, one of the most prominent heights in the township, and runs in an easterly direction across the valley, a distance of half or three quarters of a mile, and then turns again directly south, or nearly so, leaving, thus, on the west side of the river and adjoining it, the plain always known by the name of the Indian Field, on the west edge of which rises the bluff known as Fort Hill, an elevation about sixty feet above the Indian Field. Upon this bluff is another plain, from twenty to thirty rods in width, reaching back to Guarding Mountain. This plain, on which the Indian Fort and Indian encampment were situated, bends around the northeast prominence of Guarding Mountain somewhat as the river winds around Long Mountain. The Indians cultivated this upper plain the same as the lower one, and hence had under cultivation, when the New Milford company settled here, about two hundred acres of land on the west side of the river, besides some on the east side. At some time the Indians, in separate families, if no other way, resided on the east side of the river, since burials took place there, which would not have been the case while all were residing on the west side. Hence the locality, Weantinock, was not at the Falls, but in the valley at the southern end of Long Mountain.

Wannupee island is situated in the river at this place in the second bend of the river, or where it turns to go south. The name Wannupee means, "overflowed," or "subject to overflow."

The Indians at Weantinock were once very numerous, or, if not, they were inhabitants here hundreds of years before the English settled in the place. At the time of this settlement in 1707, they were not very numerous, not numbering over four or

¹¹ The spelling of Indian names in this New Milford History is in harmony with Mr. Trumbull's book.





five hundred in all, and these being accumulations during a number of years. In Mr. Griswold's sermon it is stated that they numbered two hundred warriors; but, admitting this to be true, and it is very probable, yet these two hundred were not all located here, but were, some at the falls, some at Potatuck in Newtown, some at the mouth of the Shepaug river, and some up the Housatonic, and there are evidences of their encampments back from the river in various places, while the general headquarters were at Weantinock.

The first deed received by the New Milford company in 1703 contained seventeen Indian names,¹³ and conveyed the land which constituted the first township of New Milford, except a reservation of the Indian Field and the privilege of fishing at the Great Falls. In 1705, this Indian Field, including the reserved land on Fort Hill, as well as the foot of it, was purchased by the New Milford company, and to this deed were attached thirteen names, three of them being those of squaws,¹⁴—the Indians retaining the right to fish at the Falls, which right has never been given up. It is surprising that of these latter names only two probably represent persons who signed the first one, and neither of the thirteen is said to be Sachem, Sagamore or chief, although this land would seem to have been of great importance to them. The matter is inexplicable, but may indicate that if the tribe were numerous in 1703, they had rapidly removed to other places, and considered the location of little value, and deserted.

¹³ New Milford deed, Feb. 8, 1702-3.

Papetoppe,	Pocanus,
Rapiscotoo,	Paramethe,
Towwecomis,	Wewinapuck,
Wompotoo,	Chasqueneag,
Nanhootoo,	Papircam,
Hawwasues,	Tomoseete,
Yoncomis,	Nonawak,
Shoopack,	Nokopurrs.
Wewinapouch,	

¹⁴ New Milford Deed, Aug., 29, 1705.

Shamenunckqus,	Papetapo, his squaws mark,
Chesquaneag,	Younggam's squaw her mark,
Whemet,	Joman,
Papetopo, alias Pomkinsedes.	Appacoco,
Wanuppe,	Poquanow,
Cuttouckes,	Youngams.
Mantooes, his mothers mark,	

The number of Indians who remained at the Great Falls was evidently quite small, since the graves in that vicinity were very few, and from several considerations it seems quite certain the removal of the largest part of the tribe was to Scatacook, in Kent, especially as all traditions represent the Indians as coming down from Kent, and stopping in the houses and barns of the early settlers, as well as those of later years, over night, and proceeding on their way to fish at the Falls.

If now we look at the Indian burying-place on Fort Hill we shall be surprised more than at any other of the tracks of the Red man in New Milford. These graves, or mounds, had been dug into, pillaged, and rummaged to a considerable extent before the present owner, Mr. Eleazer T. Brewer, took possession of the place by right of purchase and deed. He took it upon himself, be it said ever to his honor, to hunt up every mound that could be discovered, and put them in good repair, sowed grass seed on the newly-disturbed ground, which in a short time covered the entire locality as a lawn. The place is now a beautiful grove of chestnut and oak trees, from six to ten inches in diameter. There are fifty mounds to be plainly seen, measuring from five to ten feet in diameter, consisting of rings made of the sandy earth, raised to eight and twelve inches high. The method of burial was to place the corpse sitting in the ring, down in the grave, the head remaining but a little below the surface of the ground ; and in this way several burials, from three to ten, could be effected in each mound, or family plot. Hence there may have been buried on an average five bodies in each of these mounds, or nearly three hundred in all. Some burials, however, were made by laying the body in the grave, since skeletons have been found in that position. But these mounds are not all that were there in 1707, for evidently a part of the old place has been plowed over at the edge of the grove ; and besides, skeletons have been excavated in digging sand, some two hundred feet north of where the last mound is now to be seen, thus proving that the territory devoted to burials at that place was much extended beyond the present appearance.

On the east side of the river, on the bluff along on which West street is now located, a number of skeletons have recently been exhumed while persons were digging cellars. Skeletons

have been exhumed also above the mouth of the Aspetuck, on the north side of the river.

It is quite doubtful if the first settlers knew of these burials on the east side of the river, for there are no traditions to this effect so far as heard, and hence these graves were made many years before the settlers came here. It is therefore difficult to avoid the conclusion that anterior to the settlement of this locality by the English, perhaps a hundred—possibly two hundred years—the Indians were located here at Weantinock under the same name, and that too in considerable numbers.

Upon the selling of the Indian Field, those who remained in the vicinity made their headquarters at the Falls, where afterwards Waraumaug's celebrated tent was located.

If we were to venture an opinion, upon the information now obtained, it would be that the Indians of this part of Connecticut, at least, came from Shekomeko in New York, over the hills, and made a settlement first at Scatacook, but soon discovered the beautiful location at the south end of Long Mountain and effected a settlement here, particularly because of the planting ground, and its proximity to the Falls where the fish were so abundant, and that they were called Potatucks—"Falls Indians" (the country about the falls)—because they dwelt near the falls, and that they called the river Potatuck (Falls River) and never knew any other name for it until the English gave it one. It is certain that they (the Indians) knew no other name for it when Derby first began to be settled in 1654. Hence the original name for all the Indians along the Housatonic was Potatucks, and all other names grew up afterwards, as a matter of local distinction. With this supposition harmonizes the great antiquity of the Scatacook settlement, and also the many burials at New Milford.

Some further information as to the antiquity of the settlement at Weantinock may be obtained from a deed recorded at Stratford. In 1670, the General Court granted liberty to Stratford men "to purchase Weantenock and the lands adjacent," of the Indians, and under this grant Henry Tomlinson and others made a purchase, of those whom they supposed were the rightful owners of a tract of land at this place of over 26,000 acres, lying on both sides of the Housatonic, and received a deed with fifteen

Indian names attached,¹⁴ which were names of Potatuck Indians, and this was the deed under which Col. John Read held his claim to New Milford lands. Where these Indians resided cannot be ascertained, although some of them may have resided at Weantinock, but of this there is much doubt. One of them, the Sachem Cheshushamack, signed a number of deeds in Derby and Woodbury. Against this sale of land a protest was made six years later by "Scantamaug of Wyantenuck," that Henry Tomlinson had bought the land "in a private way to their prejudice," but he does not object to the authority exercised by the Potatuck chief and his men, unless he means that "in a private way" was without authority. Hence there was a settlement here at that time, and if so, there had been for a length of time previous, with the leader Scantamaug at the head, who may have been a Sachem. This indicates that all the various clans of the Potatuck Indians were one tribe, under one general government, on both sides of the Housatonic, then called the Potatuck river, to the Massachusetts line; and to this conclusion we are led by the signatures of later deeds, for some of the signers to the Woodbury deeds of 1700, 1705, and 1706, and some of those to a deed of lands north of Woodbury in 1716, are the same men who signed the New Milford deed in 1703.

One of these names underwent several rather amusing changes. We find it in 1705, as *Cotsure*, in 1716 as *Corkscrew*, and in 1739, to a New Milford deed, *Cocksure*, which was not long afterwards changed to *Cogswell*, under which name some of the lineal descendants are still residing in New Milford.

One of the names attached to the New Milford deeds, "*Pomkinsedes*," has become local in the name of *Punkin Hill*, a little south of *Falls Mountain*, which resulted, probably, from the residence of *Pompkinsedes* on that hill; and another name is perpetuated in connection with a locality a little southeast of

¹⁴ Deed of Weantinock, April 25, 1671.

Pocono,	Mattaret, the Sachem's eldest son,
Ringo,	Tone, the second son of Mattaret,
Quoconoco,	Toto,
Cheshushamack, Sachem,	Mohemat,
Wookpenos,	Chethemhehu,
Wsonco,	Oshoron,
Pomuntock,	Papisconos.

New Milford in the name of Chicken Hill, as arising from the Indian "Chickins," who created some commotion in the Colony through the Weantinock Indians in 1720, as will hereafter be seen. "Pinchgut Plain" is most probably abbreviated, or a change from some Indian name, as Paugasset, or Pequusset, changed in one case in Massachusetts to Pigsgusset, and from this the slide is easy to "Pinchgut." Pawgasuck or Pagassett, means where "the narrows open out," which is the case most emphatically as we come up the river to the falls above Falls Mountain.

Goodyear's Island.

This is a small island in the Housatonic below Falls Mountain, and below the Fishing Place now overgrown with alders and other small trees. It was probably made by the washing out of the gorge through the mountain.

In 1642, Mr. Goodyear of New Haven, with Mr. Wakeman, established a trading-house on what is now Birmingham Point, in Derby, Ct., and in addition must have built one about the same time on this island at what was then Metichawon, for there was no other person by that name engaged in trade with the Indians, so far as known, before the deed of 1671, which informs us that this was "Goodyear's Island," and he once had a trading-house on it. In 1646, the Governor of New York complained to the Governor of New Haven that he or his men had "determined to fasten your foot near Mauritius River in this Province, and there not only to disturb our trade, of no man hitherto questioned, and to draw it to yourselves, but utterly to destroy it,"¹⁵ and the New Haven Governor replied a little sharply that his people had established a trading-house "upon Paugassett River," but that he knew of no such stream as Mauritius River. In the suit conducted by Mr. John Read for Mr. Zachariah Ferriss, as given in the first chapter of the English history part of this book, we are told where this Goodyear Island is, and the fact is also revealed in one New Milford deed, if not more. This island being so much nearer the New York line than Paugassett, we can see why the New York Governor should fear the men were trespassing on the rights of his Province, and the Indian name of the place being Metichawon,

¹⁵ New Haven Col. Rec., I, 265-6.

the Dutch Governor did quite well in writing the name so nearly correct when he called it Mauritius River.

In the fact of the trading-house on this Island so early we find the assurance that the Indians were so numerous here that it was thought advantageous to establish the trading-post; that is, as early as 1646, at latest, probably in 1642. and if so, then the place must have been an Indian town or village a long time before.

*The Housatonic (Housaton'uc.)*¹⁶

This river was called the "Great River" in all the deeds of New Milford for more than fifty of the first years of the settlement. Afterwards it was called "Oweantinock," or "Oweantenogue," a few times, and later Housatonic and Ousatonic. In the Colonial Records and the State land records the two forms occur about an equal number of times.

It has been claimed that in pure Indian pronunciation the *h* is never sounded before a vowel, especially *O*, but such a claim would not be mentioned by one familiar with the Indian language or words, since there are so many pure Indian words to the contrary—as: Hammonasset, Higanum, Hoccanum, Hokonkamonk.

It was at first the name of the locality now called Stockbridge, Mass., and the most thorough research which has been seen concerning this name is in "The American Church Review" for July and August, 1880, by Rev. W. G. Andrews; the following is an extract:

"Westenhuck (or Westenhock) is the Dutch form of Housatonic. The latter is spelled Hooestennuc by President Dwight (Travels I, 32), and the Indians accented the first syllable. Algonquin scholars cannot trace the word in any aboriginal tongue, and it is probable that this musical "Indian" name is the product of an effort of the Indians to speak Dutch, succeeded by an effort of the Yankees to speak what they thought was Muhhekanneew (Smith's History of Pittsfield).

"The proper Indian name of Stockbridge was Wnahtukook, while the name of Westenhock as a territorial designation, was given very early to a tract of land lying on the disputed boundary between Massachusetts and New York. But the name had a

¹⁶ J. H. Trumbull, p. 15.


more extended application. Not only does Hopkins expressly say that it includes Stockbridge (Memoirs, 142), but the Moravians identify the two, using Westenhook as equivalent to Wana-chquatagoch, i. e., Wnahtukook."

This much with a dozen authorities referred to seems quite sufficient, especially when in common use, and historically the name is *Housatonic*.

CHAPTER VIII.

INDIANS OF NEW MILFORD—CONTINUED.

Metichawon.

 HIS Indian name denotes an "obstruction or turning back," and hence was applied to the Great Falls in the Housatonic at Falls Mountain, where the fish were turned back, or prevented from going further up the river. In Dr. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, II, 83, it is said of these falls: "These stopped the progress of the large fish, and made it formerly one of the best fishing-places for shad, herring; etc., in the colony."¹ The name properly originated from the falls, and not from the fact of a fishing-place.

These Falls are now on the north side of the mountain, just below which is the gorge through the mountain, cut or worn there by the natural flowing of the waters during incalculable ages of time. Thousands of years ago the valleys of the Housatonic and Still rivers constituted one vast lake, and the only place for the outlet of this lake was over this mountain, where gradually it began to wear for itself a passage through the mountain instead of going over it, and continuing steadily at its work, the bed of the river settled lower and lower, age after age, until it has drained the entire valleys and there remains only the falls of about ten or fifteen feet in height at the upper edge of the mountain. The rapids continue all the way through the mountain, a distance of perhaps one hundred and fifty rods,—not quite half a mile. At the southern end of the gorge the rocky bluff is almost perpendicular to the height of nearly one hundred and fifty feet. Each way from the gorge, northeast and southwest, the mountain rises still higher, and just below the gorge, or at its outlet, the river widens out, forming what has been familiarly

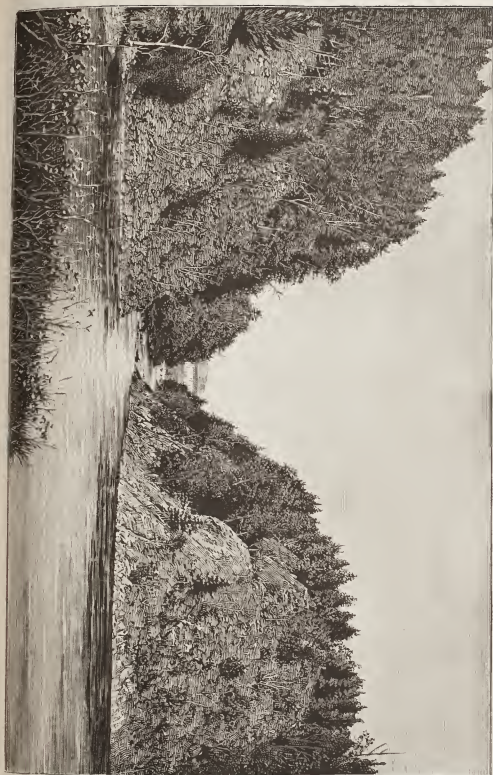
¹ See J. H. Trumbull's Indian Names of Connecticut, p. 29.

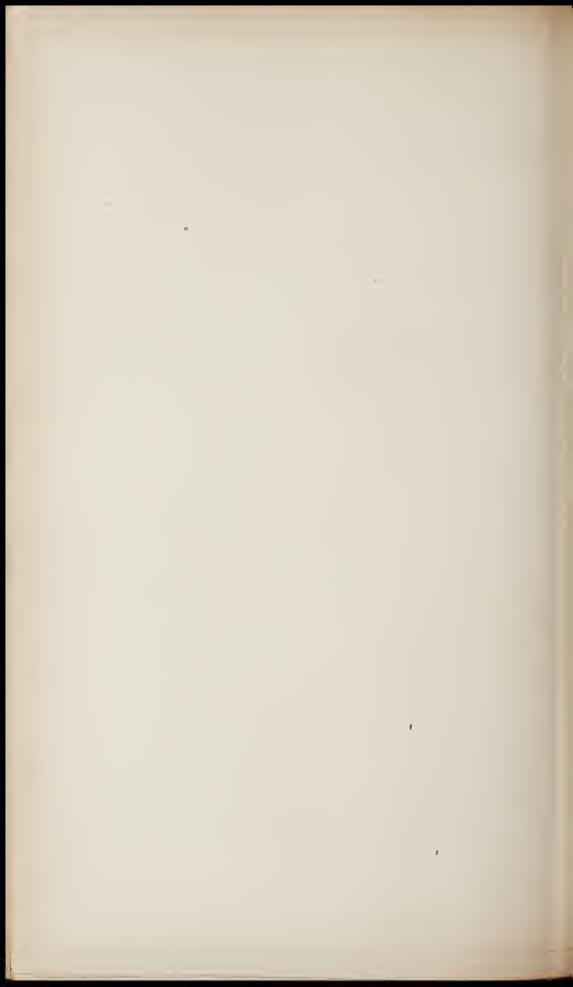
called "the Cove" for many years, but what has been denominated the "fishing-place" ever since the settlement of the town, at the lower end of which is Goodyear's Island. The width of the gorge at the highest point of the rocks may be eighty feet, or a little more, and at the surface of the water half as great, the western side being in the whole length nearly bare, perpendicular rock, the eastern side rising more gradually and covered with trees and shrubs. From the gorge to the northeast the mountain rises gradually for some distance and then abruptly another one hundred and fifty feet, forming a kind of oblong haystack sort of a mountain, to be seen as a high point from many parts of the town, which height particularly is called Falls Mountain, although the name is applied in general to the mountain at the gorge. On this mountain, where it rises gradually towards the northeast, at a distance of about eighty rods from the gorge, is located *Waraumaug's Monument*—a rude pile of small field-stones, circular in form, of two and a half feet in diameter, cone-shaped, with a single stone standing upright at the top—all of it nearly six feet in height. Here Waraumaug was buried (of which fact there can scarcely be a doubt, since the Rev. Daniel Boardman, probably, attended his funeral, and at the least knew where he was buried), he having requested, as it is said, to be buried here, that he might look abroad upon the beautiful country of his people, and not feel lonely in the future life to which he was going. Here was he laid to rest about the year 1735, and the monument was then erected, for as it now is, so it was seventy years ago, as testified to by the oldest inhabitants, and "so it had been," said their fathers, from the first. It is said that the Indians had a custom that whenever they passed this monument they brought a small stone and threw it down at the base of the pile in honor of their departed chief, and hence, scattered about within three feet of it are a bushel, perhaps, of such stones, indicating by this small amount that not many years after his burial his brethren the Red men ceased to pass that way, having removed to a distance, and that the white brethren have scarcely disturbed a stone of that monumental pile. And since it is thus, we urge that the white brethren as they pass this already highly-honored tomb shall, in obedience to the noble custom, leave an additional stone to the perpetuation of the memory of the far-famed but long-since departed Chief, Waraumaug.

Immediately east of the height called Falls Mountain is a deep hollow, beyond which, rising abruptly to a still higher elevation than Falls Mountain, is Wolf-Pit Mountain, so steep and rocky that it is left for no purpose only to grow trees, and to be a bird-cage for owls and bats. Upon the eastern side of this mountain, upon land owned by Mr. Henry Sanford, have been found many arrow-heads, several pestles, and other Indian implements, indicating that the locality was occupied somewhat as a camping-ground by the Indians, and in a field near the centre of Bridgewater was found recently what some persons call an Indian gouge, and others, a pick-axe; but the latter name does not well describe the instrument. It was evidently made to be used by the hand, but could be used by having a handle attached. Besides this, other artificially-shaped stones have been found in this locality, particularly a part of an axe to a spear-head, and many arrow-heads. When the township was first purchased, the line of hills immediately north of Bridgewater Centre, and the highest part of Second Hill, still further north, were without forests (the timber having been destroyed by fires set by the Indians), and were covered largely with grass, to which the deer came to feed. Zerubabel Canfield was one of the first settlers in the southwest part of what is now the village of Bridgewater, and his widow, who lived to be quite aged, told often of having looked from her window north and frequently seeing the Indians running over the tops of these hills in pursuit of game, and on hunting excursions. Directly west of the cove, or fishing-place, on the mountain running southwest from the gorge, is an Indian burying-place, where a few graves were made, but all of them probably after the whites began to settle New Milford village, and an Indian spring, much celebrated for the coolness and purity of its waters. This mountain, or ridge of land, a little further south from the Indian spring, is known as Punkin Hill, and has upon it some fine farms.

Lover's Leap.

The highest point of rocks at the lower end of the gorge, on the east side of the river, is called Lover's Leap, and from it may be had an interesting view of the outspread waters of the river, of Goodyear's Island, and the mountains and country to the southeast.





This height is the point of resort for visiting and pic-nic parties, and for romantic and enthusiastic admiration. Some persons have understood that the point where the tragic occurrence took place by which the name is perpetuated was on the west side of the gorge instead of the east. The *Legendary Story*, which the name "Lover's Leap" perpetuates, is given in the following poem, of the authorship of which nothing is known save the name.

LEGEND OF WEANTINAUG.

Through a winding little valley set in hillsides forest-crowned,
Where the grand old guardian mountains stand like sentinels around,
Flows the lovely Housatonic, flashing in its pleasant coves,
Or, with merry laughter, dashing o'er the pebbles that it loves.

Here the simple child of nature, ere the pale face yet he knew,
Learned to skim its rippling surface in his little birch canoe:
On its banks he pitched his wigwam, through its forests chased the deer,
Wooded his fair one by its waters,—lived and loved and perished here.

In the fairest of the valleys, beautiful Weantinaug,
With his band of sturdy warriors, lived the great chief Waraumaug
And his daughter Lillionah, loveliest of her maiden band,
Dwelt among her father's people, scattered sunshine o'er his land.

Through the forest paths she wandered, like some sylvan goddess bright,
Or if on the river floating in the pale and still moonlight,
Cross the ripples from her paddle, flashed its bright and magic beam,
You might deem the Indian maiden was the naiad of the stream.

Once as on a summer evening, Lillionah wandering strayed,
By the margin of the river, there, within the pathway made
By the over-arching thickets, lo! a pale-faced stranger stood
Who had lost his way, he told her, as he traveled through the wood.

Straight she led the 'wildered traveler, casting shy looks at his eyes,
Which in turn surveyed the maiden, filled with wondering surprise.
And she brought him to the village, took him to her father's door,
Placed before him savory venison, fed him from her richest store.

When the old braves whispered darkly, looked at him with evil eye,
Lillionah prayed her father, and he said, "He shall not die."
But though free to go, he lingered till the summer wore away,
Till at last the leaves had fallen, and the trees put on their gray.

But at length, one pleasant evening, to that cliff he led the maid,
By whose base the river plunges down a narrow, steep cascade,
And he said, "My Lillionah, thou dost know I love thee true;
Now I must go to my people, but will come again to you."

All the tardy days of winter waited Lillinonah then,
 For she said, "At spring-time, surely, with the leaves he'll come again."
 But, at last, the buds expanded and the leaflets grew apace,
 Yet the watching Lillinonah could not spy the longed-for face.

Spring-time deepened into summer, but her lover did not come,
 Summer faded into autumn, but it brought no wanderer home.
 And the maid, at first so hopeful, slowly faded day by day,
 And the laughing eyes grew sadder, always gazing far away.

Waraumaug, the mighty chieftain, saw his daughter's pallid hue,
 And he called young Eagle Feather, who had loved her long and true;
 "You must wed the maiden," said he, "it will cheer her spirits up,
 For her breast is sorrow-laden; she has almost ceased to hope."

Then her maidens decked the fair one to become the young man's bride,
 But, at evening, softly crept she downward to the river's side,
 Stepped into her little shallop, pushed it quickly from the shore,
 Turned its prow adown the current, towards the cruel rapid's roar.

Hastening with a joyful footstep, comes a tall form through the wood,
 But he pauses for a moment at the cliff beside the flood;
 Onward comes the fated maiden,—that loved form too well he knows,
 One long plunge and he is with her, and the waters o'er them close.

Still the river tells the pebbles, as it flashes on its way,
 Legends of another nation, tales of a forgotten day;
 Still it dashes down the rapids towards the pleasant little cove,
 Telling ever to the passer this same sad, sad tale of love.

H. S. GREEN.

The Far-Famed Waraumaug.²

Much has been written at various times concerning this Sachem or Chief, especially in local papers, a large proportion of which, except the conjecture of different individuals, was founded on what Dr. Trumbull in his "History of Connecticut" had written, which is as follows:

"The seat of the chief Sachem was near the Great Falls. His name was Wehononague, a man of uncommon powers of mind, sober and regular in his life, who took much pains to suppress the vices of the Indians. When the English were first acquainted with him, he was supposed to command about two hundred warriors. The whole number of Indians might be one

² The Rev. Horace Bushnell, a native of New Preston, and who spent many of his latest summers at, and gave considerable attention to the Indian history of that locality, gave it as his opinion that this name should be written Warhaumaug, and pronounced with a trill on the rh.

thousand. The other clans of Indians in the county, at Pomparague (Woodbury), Bantom (Litchfield), Piscatacook (Kent), Weatauge (Salisbury), and the adjacent parts, were supposed to be in the strictest league of friendship with the Indians at Wyantenock, otherwise Oweantonoge. The palace of the chief sachem, where he commonly resided, was at the Great Falls. The tradition is, that it was constructed of barks, with the smooth side inwards, on which were pictures of all known species of beasts, birds, fishes, and insects, drawn by an artist sent to him by a friendly prince, from a great distance.

"The first minister was the Rev. Daniel Boardman, ordained November 21, 1716. Finding Wehononague, the Indian Sachem, to be a discreet and friendly man, he took much pains to instruct him; it appears that he professed repentance for his sins and faith in Christ, and died a Christian. In a letter to a particular gentleman, he calls him, 'That distinguished Sachem, whose great abilities and eminent virtues, joined with his extensive domain, rendered him the most potent prince of that or any other day in this colony; and his name ought to be recorded by the faithful historian, as much as that of any crowned head since he was laid in the dust.'"

This eloquently-expressed opinion of the Rev. Daniel Boardman is high eulogy, but it should be remembered that he was better acquainted with the chief than any other writer, and that he was capable of forming a just as well as a generous opinion.

It is very gratifying that there can be given here an extract from a letter written in 1796, by Sherman Boardman, Esq., son of the Rev. Daniel Boardman, concerning Waraumaug and the Weantinock Indians, as follows:

"With regard to the Indians within the limits of the country, there were sundry small tribes;—one at Woodbury, alias Pomperaug, one at Litchfield, alias Bantam, one at Salisbury, alias Wetaug, one at Kent, alias Piscatticook, but the great Capitol was New Milford, alias Oweantinoque, and here was the seat of government, as it was the residence of that illustrious Sachem whose great abilities and eminent virtue, joined to his extensive domain, rendered him the most potent prince of that or any after day in this State, and his name ought to be eternized by the hand of the faithful historian as much as any crowned head

since his was laid in the dust; his grave to this day is distinguished. For further particulars of this great and good man, I refer you to the inclosed letter, which is a copy of a private letter wrote by the Rev. Mr. Daniel Boardman to a friend, found amongst his papers, many years after his death, by which you will see that he took some pains to instruct the Indians. As to the number of the Indians in Oweantinoque, the old people tell me that there were upwards of a hundred warriors, some say two hundred, who lived in strict friendship with the white people and went out with them [in war] on all occasions. But about —— years after the death of their Sachem they sold their possessions and removed to Piscatticook, which is another reserve on the west side of the river opposite Kent, containing about a hundred acres of intervale, and three or four hundred acres of mountain land, which extends to New York line. This Sachem was called Mawwehew, who was a man of real abilities. I have been acquainted with many of his decisions, which would not have disgraced Lord Mansfield; but as they kept no records we lose the advantage of their wisdom, which might in some cases compare with Greece and Rome. Some time about the year 1744, they were visited by Moravian missionaries, who resided amongst them a number of years under the direction of Count Zinzendorf, when there appeared an almost universal reformation amongst them, and great concern of mind; their whole discourse, when amongst the white people, being on religious subjects, and they were all baptized by the Moravians, and spent much of their time in religious worship, both public and private. The Moravians appeared to be very religious, peaceable, and inoffensive men, who at length prevailed on the Indians to remove, most of them to Bethlehem. The change of climate proved fatal to most of them, especially the older people,—the remnant of them, being discouraged, returned to Piscatticook and seemed to forget their religion, and became indolent and intemperate, and appear to be wasting away.

“P. S.—Since writing the above, I have been requested to give you a description of Wehoromage's palace, built by his subjects, in token of their gratitude to him, about two years before his death. The edifice was built in the Indian style and was about one hundred feet in length, and about twenty in breadth, covered with bark curiously wrought and embellished with portrait paint-

ing, done by the greatest artist. I have been informed that he had a great friend and brother Sachem in the North who, like Hiram, sent with his message cunning men who, with others, were for some months engaged in curious drawing, while others were employed in collecting materials and erecting the building. Many of those barks were carried five or six miles on the backs of numbers selected for that purpose. The paintings were arranged in the following order of state ; first the King and Royal family, Counsellors, Judges, etc. In the other apartments were drawn every kind of fourfooted beast, flying birds, and creeping things, down to the ant and covey-fish, all drawn much to the life.

"This description I believe to be principally true, for when I was young, I remember to have heard my father describe it, who had often visited the owner and viewed the building.

"Pardon, sir, my lengthy detail of Indian affairs, as I judge none of your correspondents would undertake the smutty task, and I have long been of the opinion that those who do write about them, through earliest prejudices do not do them justice. . . .

"SHERMAN BOARDMAN.

"New Milford, April 4, 1796."

So far as ascertained the Indians owned no land in New Milford at the time of Waraumaug's death, and never laid claim to any except a small piece in the southeast corner of Bridgewater, for which Cocksure gave a deed in 1739. All the land occupied by the Indians in the town, after 1705, was by the suffrage of the English, and they did so occupy for thirty or more years. Their reserved right to fish was at the Falls and not at the Cove, although nothing has been heard but that they fished freely everywhere.

A deed of land, given by Waraumaug and Nepato, in 1716, to Benjamin Fairweather of Stratford, for a tract of land on the east side of the Housatonic, north of New Milford, extending north about twenty-five miles and one mile wide, was recorded in New Milford as well as at Hartford, because some of that land was afterwards purchased by New Milford men.⁸

⁸ Fairweather's deed, June 19, 1716.

Witnesses.

Jacobs,
Tauhooks,

Mauwehus,
Simons,

Waraumaug,
Nepato.

In this deed, when witnessed, Waraumaug is said to be kinsman to Nepato.

In a deed of the Potatucks to Thomas Seymour and others of Windsor, given May 2, 1716, Waraumaug was a witness, but an interested party.

The following is the deed in which the Reserve at New Preston was made ; a reserve, not of the land, but the "use of the one part . . . for hunting, fishing, etc."

It was only two years after this when the Windsor committee sold, from this Reserve, that territory afterwards called the New Milford North Purchase. The Reserve, instead of including 2,000 acres, as has often been stated, covered more than 20,000.

Waraumaug's Deed and Reserve.⁴

"To all Christian People. . . Know yee that Weromaug, Weraroquoin, alias Curlow, Nepatoo, Ahanyeam, Mawehew, Owound, Tawhook, Paconopect, Tackahound, alias John Wawnowgh, and Wassomaug, Indian proprietors and owners of the within granted premises ; Have for and in consideration of seventy pounds current money of Connecticut to us in hand paid . . . by the Gentlemen Proprietors and Inhabitants of the Town of Hartford and Windsor . . . by Ensign Thomas Seymour and James Ensign, committee agents for sd town of Hartford, and Samuel Rockwell and Nathaniel Hosford, committee agents for sd town of Windsor . . . do sell . . . all that Tract of Land in the Colony of Connecticut aforesaid, commonly known amongst the English by the Name of the Western Lands, and is abutted and bounded as follows, viz :

"Beginning East, partly on the Town bounds of Litchfield and partly on the former purchase made by the committee aforesaid, in behalf of the aforementioned towns . . . and part on the West bounds of the Town of Simsbury, and part on a north line running from the northwest corner of Simsbury to the Colony Line, West on Owsutunnuck River or Stratford River, South on New Milford in part and part on the Town bounds of Woodbury, and part on the aforementioned Land . . . with all the profits, privileges, and appurtenances thereunto anyways belonging. . . Reserving only as hereafter in these presents reserved. . . . Reserving as aforesaid, viz : the use of the One part of the granted

⁴ Colony Records of Deeds & Patents, Vol. 3.

premises bounded as follows, viz. : East on Shippaug River, north on the West branch of Shepaug River where it Empties itself into the branch of Sheppang River that comes out of Shippaug Pond, Running a Straight Line to the north part of a Pond Called Wonkkecomaug, signifying a Crooked Pond, from thence a due West Line by the needle to Oweantunnuck River, West on said River, and South part on the Town bounds of New Milford, part on the Town bounds of Woodbury to be to the said Weromaug, his heirs and successors forever, for hunting, fishing, fowling, planting, building, fencing, and any other improvements or use properly to be done on Land—note also therein Reserved for the use and benefit for hunting, fowling, fishing, and the like use, to Nepatoo one of the Grantors, out of the premises about Twenty acres or more—a neck of Land Lying southward of Rowley Dutcher's, on the East side the River south of his said Rowley Dutcher's Land.

"In testimony and confirmation whereof We hereunto set our hands. . . .

Weromaug—his mark,	Mawehew,	Paconopeet,
Wearoquin,	Wossomaug,	Takahound,
Nepatoo,	Awhound,	Wonwnough.
Ahanjean,	Towhook,	

Hartford, Oct. 22, 1720."

Who was Waraumaug?

Of his probable ancestry much might be said, not wholly uninteresting. Of the name, Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull remarks :⁶ "Weraumaug means 'good fishing place.' The Sachem may have taken his appellation from his place of residence, near the famous fishing-place below the falls of the Housatonic. Such transfer of place-names to persons was very common." This was probably the way this chief acquired this name. The first time we meet with it is as a witness on the deed of May 2, 1716, of land north of Woodbury, which shows his interest in that land, for, in some other Indian deeds, the persons who at the head are said to sell the land, sign as witnesses. In this deed he is a witness ; but one month and a half later, June 19, 1716, he signs

⁶ "Indian Names of Connecticut," 85.

the Fairweather deed as the chief owner of the land, with his kinsman Nepato, but with Mauhehus (Mawwehu) the Potatuck Sachem then at Newtown, as a witness. It is evident, therefore, that he is no foreign blood, but a full inheritor of the Potatuck possessions with the other chiefs of that tribe (meaning by "tribe" the various clans in the valley of the Housatonic), and that he probably had just attained the authority of Sachem or Sagamore, as stated in a deed at Stratford, June 5, 1724. In the New Milford deed of Feb. 8, 1702, are two names, Nauhootoo and Hawwasues, which may have denoted Waraumaug and Nepato, of the Fairweather deed of 1716. If we can find who Hawwasues is we may conclude the rest without much risk of error. In a Derby deed of 1709, we have Waskawakes, alias Tom, who is there declared to be Cockapatana's son. In a Stratford deed of a strip of land on the west side of the Housatonic, in 1714, we have "Tom" as the first or leading name, and in a deed of land in the same town in 1724, we have his name at the head as "Tom Sachem, Tom Tonee or Manshanges" (all the same), and at the bottom, "Mashages or Tom King." In a Derby deed of 1707 it is "Mashekes." From these names to Hawwasues is not a long step by different spellers and scribes of early days. The study given to this question has not been sufficient, to insist that Waskawakes was Waraumaug, but if he was (and it seems very probable) then Waraumaug was about 58 years of age when he signed the first deed as Sachem in 1716, and hence also, dying about 1735, he was not far from seventy-seven years of age. It is a little difficult to understand how another could become the Sachem at New Milford in 1716, when "Tom Sachem," son of Cockapatana, of the Potatucks, was living, and as a leading man and as Sachem had signed various deeds during thirty years.

Waraumaug had several children, one of whom had his hut at Waraumaug Lake many years. The point of land at the Lake, once called Boar's Head, is now called Chere Point, after this Indian. "Old Chere" is said to have been a terror to white children, since he took much pleasure in frightening them, he being dressed always in a frightful style.

Concerning the death of Waraumaug, the Rev. Stanley Griswold speaks in his century sermon as follows: "In this place ['his palace near the Great Falls'] the forementioned chief was visited by the Rev. Mr. Boardman, first minister of this town, during his last sickness and at his death. Mr. Boardman has left in manuscript a minute and circumstantial account of his labors with the sachem to enlighten him into the Christian doctrines,—and of the sachem's apparent faith and repentance; as also of the singular, rude, and abusive behavior of the other Natives on the occasion. From whence it appears that few or none of those people (the sachem excepted) were disposed at that time to embrace Christianity. And so far as those people in this town and neighborhood were ever converted to the Christian religion, it was a considerable time afterwards, by the Moravian missionary. Count Zinzendorf himself once came into this town on that business and preached here."

It is much to be regretted that the manuscript of the Rev. Daniel Boardman, above referred to, cannot now be found, since it would give us dates and information of much interest.

Doubt has been expressed in public prints whether Count Zinzendorf visited New Milford during his visit at Shekomiko (now Pine Plains, N. Y.), but this statement of Mr. Griswold seems to do away with the doubt, for he was several years conversant with Mrs. Margaret Hine who was personally familiar with the fact, if such it was, and he was also personally and intimately associated with Sherman Boardman, who was fifteen years of age when the Count came here, and whose mother lived many years to give him the truth as to the occurrence. It was almost impossible for Mr. Griswold to make this statement, and the town, sometime afterward, to vote to have it recorded, if it had not been a well-known fact, for there were probably a score of persons in the town who knew whether it was truth or not, for if he was here, it was in 1742, only 58 years from Mr. Griswold's writing.

The statement of Mr. Boardman that he was "the most potent prince of that or any other day in this colony," is probably a very correct judgment, and would have been demonstrated had there been any occasion for Indian wars, since he could have called into the field all the warriors of Western Connecticut. In

the war between the English and French, from 1744 to 1760, many of these Indians enlisted with the Connecticut troops, and so many that the effect was quite apparent upon the Moravian Mission Stations, and lamented by the missionaries.

The precise place of the location of Waraumaug's beautifully ornamented palace tent is not known, but tradition says it was near the Falls on the west side of the river, a little distance from the west end of the present town bridge across the Housatonic.

Waraumaug's Decease.

A peculiar scene occurred during the sachem's last illness, as related by Mr. DeForest, who obtained his information from the late Judge David S. Boardman, than whom there could seldom be found better authority.^a

"The Rev. Daniel Boardman became much interested in Waraumaug, and took great pains to instruct him in the truths of the Christian religion, and, from his evidence, it would seem that the sachem's death-bed was softened by penitence and cheered by hope. During his last illness, Mr. Boardman constantly attended him, and endeavored to impress and confirm upon his mind the vital truths of Christianity. It was a sad place for a sick and dying man; for all the other Indians, and even the sachem's wife, were bitterly opposed to the English religion, and exerted their utmost influence to keep him true to the cheerless faith of his ancestors. Their conduct was rude and abusive toward the good minister; and scenes sometimes occurred which, in spite of the solemnity of the occasion, were little less than ludicrous. Once in particular, while Mr. Boardman was at the sachem's bedside, the latter asked him to pray, to which he assented. It happened that there was at this time in the village a sick child, whom a powwow had undertaken to cure by means of the usual writhings, grimaces, and bellowings. As soon as Mr. Boardman began his prayer, Waraumaug's wife sent for this Indian clergyman, stationed him at the door, and bade him commence his exercises. The powwow immediately set up a prodigious shouting and howling; Mr. Boardman prayed louder, so that the sick man might hear him above the din; each raised his voice more and more as he went on; the Indians

^aDeForest's History of Conn. Indians, 394.



WARAUMAUG'S MONUMENT, NEW MILFORD. (*See page 221.*)



gathered round, anxious for the success of their champion; the powwow was fully determined to tire out the black-coat, and Mr. Boardman was equally resolved that he would not be put to silence in his duty by this son of Belial. The indomitable minister afterwards declared, that, according to the best of his belief, he prayed three hours, without stopping, before victory declared in his favor. The powwow man, completely exhausted with his efforts, gave one tremendous yell by way of covering his retreat, then took to his heels, and never stopped till he was cooling himself up to his neck in the Housatonic."

It may seem to many quite out of place for Mr. Boardman to engage in prayer in such a way as to render the contest one of mere physical endurance, but when it is remembered that he knew that the simple fact of physical effort was the foundation of the Indian's hope of help from the Great Spirit or from the gods worshiped, the question of propriety is at once lost in the greater question of showing to the Indians the superiority of the Christian religion through physical powers, or endurance.

Apprehensions of Trouble from the Indians.

In King Philip's Indian war in 1676, which distracted the whole Colony, the court made special effort to secure the friendship and fidelity of all the Indians within its jurisdiction.

"Sept., 1675, the Council came to an agreement with Wian-tineck Indians, who agreed to continue in friendship with us and to be enemies to our enemies, and to discover them timely or destroy them; that they would do no prejudice to the English, etc."

"A like agreement was made with the New Haven and Milford Indians."

After entering into this agreement, each Indian delegate to the Council received as a present "a pair of breeches," and thus harmony between the two races was continued.

Thirty years later the government had occasion to treat with the western Indians to make sure their friendship.

"In Feb., 1707, upon a letter from Col. Schuyler of Albany, signifying that he was informed that the French & enemy Indians were preparing to make a descent upon the frontier towns of New England; also a letter from Capt. John Minor, of Woodbury, and Mr. John Sherman, signifying their suspicion that the 'Pohtatuck

and Owiantonuck Indians were invited to join with the enemy,' the Council at Hartford passed the following :

Resolved by the Hon^{ble}, the Governor and Council, in order to prevent the defection of the 'Potatuck and Owiantonuck' Indians to the common enemy, and to secure their fidelity, that order be sent to Capt. John Minor and John Sherman, of Woodbury, with all convenient speed to remove the said Indians down to Fairfield or Stratford, or both, as shall be judged most convenient. But if by reason of sickness prevailing among them they cannot at present be removed, then to take two of their principle persons and convey them to Fairfield, there to be kept safely as hostages to secure the fidelity of those that remain at those inland places."

"Resolved that the inhabitants of Woodbury, Waterbury, and Danbury, do every one of them maintain a good scout out every day from their respective towns, of faithful and trusty men to observe the motions of the enemy."

It was but a few months after the above action that John Noble, the first settler in New Milford, made his abode among the Weantinock Indians, and was received by them and treated with great friendship; and there is no tradition of any complaint having ever been made by them against the New Milford settlers, except some question about their rights at the Falls for fishing, which was amicably settled once for all by a committee from the Assembly.

As illustrative of the repeated alarms which disturbed and distracted the inhabitants in the midst of their toils in the wilderness, some abbreviated accounts are here given :

At a meeting of the Governor and Council in New Haven, Sept. 15, 1720. It having been represented to this board, that an Indian living near to Danbury, called Chickens, has lately received two belts of wampompeag from certain remote Indians, as is said to the west of Hudson's River, with a message expressing their desire to come and live in this Colony, which said message is to be communicated by the aforesaid Chickens to the Indians at Potatuck, and Wiantinuck, and Po-quan-nuck, in order to obtain their consent for their coming and inhabiting among them; and that hereupon several of our frontier towns are under considerable apprehension of danger by the Indians, fearing that the belts may be sent on some bad design:

It is resolved, That Capt. John Sherman, of Woodbury, and Major John Burr, of Fairfield, taking with them Thomas Minor, of Woodbury, or such other interpreter as they shall judge meet, do repair immediately to the said Indians at Potatuck and Wi-an-ti-nuck, and cause the said Chickens, to whom the belts and message were sent, to attend them, and make the best enquiry they can into the truth of the said story, and what may be the design of such message; and as they shall see cause, take proper order that the Indian with the belt, and the principal or chief of the Potatuck and Wiantinuck Indians, attend the General Court at their next sessions to receive such orders as may be useful to direct them, in their behavior in relation thereunto.

That Major Burr return home by way of Danbury, that the inhabitants there, and in those western parts, may be quieted as to their apprehensions of danger from the Indians, if upon enquiry they find there is no just ground for them. Col. Rec., VI., 203.

In August, 1723, it was reported to the Governor and Council at Hartford, that "Rutland, Vt., was destroyed by the Indians, that they had killed Mr. Willard, minister of Rutland, and barbarously mangled him, and had also killed two of Lt. Stevens's sons, and two more of his sons were fallen into the enemy's hands, but whether killed or not was uncertain," and many other reports as to the purpose of the Canada Indians, directed by French military officers, and especially "that it was reported with some credit that advice had been sent from Albany to Boston, that about three hundred French Indians were come over the lake towards Connecticut, and it was feared they designed mischief," it was concluded that the occasion demanded preparations for resistance. So far as New Milford was concerned, it was ordered that the Indians of the Colony should "not presume to go out again into the woods to hunt, north of the road that goes from Farmington through Waterbury and Woodbury to New Milford;" that "such as are found north of the said paths in the woods, after the 20th of this instant, August, must expect to be treated by the scouts, and all others, as enemies;" that "a military watch be kept in the most convenient places in the towns of Simsbury, Waterbury, Woodbury, Litchfield, and New Milford," and "that Major Talcot, with such assistance as shall be found meet, ride upon the frontier from Hartford to New Milford, to take effectual care that the orders of this board, relating to a scout, etc., for the safety of the northern frontier of this Colony to the west of Connecticut River, be duly, and as speedily as may be, put in execution."

For some reason best known to themselves the Canada Indians did not appear in Connecticut, and the people pursued their avocations in comparative quiet a little more than one year, with the military scout of ten soldiers kept up; when, in October, 1724, the Assembly ordered "that the said ten men shall be forthwith released from that service, and a copy of this order be sent to Capt. Stephen Noble of said New Milford, which shall be sufficient order to him for discharging said ten men."³

At the time the order was given to establish scouting parties in the frontier towns, it was directed "that the advice of the danger be immediately given to the commission officers of the

³ Col. Rec., VI, 408.

militia in each of those towns, with orders that they forthwith convene the householders in the respective towns, and with their advice agree upon suitable places for garrisons in said towns, for their safety in case of alarm, and use their best endeavors that the inhabitants, in such manner as shall be judged most convenient, provide such fortifications with speed."

It was at this time, if not earlier, that Capt. Stephen Noble's house was made as a fort. This was done by standing logs in the ground, around the house; the logs or halves of logs being eight or ten feet in height.

"April 26, 1725. The Governor and Council at Hartford.

This board having intelligence, by a copy of a letter from Philip Schuyler, of Albany, that the enemies are all come over the lake, and that it would be prudence to strengthen the frontiers on Connecticut River:

It is considered and resolved, That notice thereof be forthwith sent to Litchfield, Waterbury, Woodbury, Farmington, Simsbury, and New Milford; and the commission officers of the aforesaid towns are ordered forthwith to make a view of the arms and ammunition of the soldiery in said towns, to see that all the soldiers in their respective companies be forthwith well equipped with their arms and ammunition according to law, and that they are in perpetual readiness to defend themselves and offend the enemy, wheresoever they shall be called or directed by their officers, or by the Governor and Council or Committee of War.

And it is ordered, That New Milford, Litchfield, Simsbury, Waterbury, and Woodbury, do forthwith set up a constable's watch in their respective towns.

Resolved, That a scout of ten effective, able-bodied men be forthwith sent out from Simsbury, to take their departure from Salmon Brook at Simsbury and march across the wilderness to Housatunnack [Stockbridge] and Weataug, and inform the Sachems of said Indians that as we look upon them to be our friends, we send them the news, that many of the eastward Indians are coming out against these frontier parts of the country, and also that Scatecook Indians are all drawn off, it's supposed to the enemy; and we send them this news that they may secure themselves in the best manner they can from the said enemy; and farther to inform them, that it being difficult to distinguish them from the enemy, they are forbid to let their men hunt or travel in the land belonging to this government on either side of Housatunnack River, where we must send our scouts to discover the enemy that come down this way. And the said scouts are carefully to observe in their travel if any tracks come down towards our frontiers, and get what intelligence they can at Housatunnack and Wetaug, and make the return of their progress to the Governor.

And whereas we have intelligence from Albany that the enemy are come all out from Canada before the Boston gentlemen got to Canada, and Skatacuk Indians are drawn off, and there is discovery of Indians in the wilderness above or north of Litchfield and New Milford: For the quieting and securing these towns, at least for the present, while they get their seed into the ground:

Therefore twenty-one soldiers were ordered from Wallingford, Branford, and Guilford to Litchfield, there to be employed "in scouting, watching, and warding, for the safety of said town,"

and from Fairfield, Stratford, and Milford were ordered five men from each to march to New Milford and "there to attend the service of guarding, scouting, watching, warding, by the direction of the commission officers of the said town of New Milford."⁴

This detachment of fifteen soldiers were employed in and about New Milford about one month and then dismissed by the Assembly, but another alarm soon came, and the council were called to provide protection to the people.

Aug. 11, 1725. Whereas it is certainly reported to this board that New Milford and Potatuck Indians have lately had several dances, and sundry of them have painted themselves as is usual for Indians to do that design war, and immediately thereupon the shepherd of Stratford was taken by two Indians, painted, and carried captive, and by them stamped till he was breathless, and buried as dead, and David Lane, a child of Stratford, barbarously murdered and mangled, and several of his Majesties good subjects of the English have been threatened to be killed by Indians that profess themselves friends to the English:

It is thereupon considered, That forasmuch as painting is the badge of war used by the Indians now in war with the English, and there is no occasion for the Indians that are real friends to the English to paint: It is therefore resolved, that if any naindI or Indians within this Colony shall be seen painted any time after the 21st day of instant August, and until other orders shall be given by the General Assembly or the Governor or Council, they shall be taken for enemies and proceeded against as such; and the Indians shall forthwith have notice of this resolve.

That the Honorable the Deputy Governor Law, and such as he shall call to his Council, are desired and impowered to set such bounds to any parties of Indians within the counties of New Haven and Fairfield as they shall think is most proper, and if any Indians shall be found without [outside] such limits they shall be taken as enemies.

If any Englishman or Indian shall make discovery of the murderers of David Lane, so that they may be convicted, such discoverer shall receive as a reward for his good service, the sum of twenty pounds out of the public treasury; and the like reward shall be allowed to such as shall discover and bring to conviction those that seized and abused the shepherd at Stratford.

If any Indian or Indians shall assault or threaten to kill, or anyways unlawfully terrify and disquiet any of his Majesties subjects, and information thereof is given to any assistant or justice of the peace, the said authority are ordered to commit such Indian or Indians to the common gaol in the county where the offense is committed until they shall make satisfaction for all damages to the party smitten, and find sufficient surety of subsidy Englishmen to become bound in a recognizance of £50, that such Indian or Indians shall carry good behavior till the next county court, and then appear in said court and abide the judgment of the court to be given thereupon, unless the breach of the peace is very great; in which case such assistant or justice of peace are directed to send such offender to the Governor and Council.⁵

At a General Assembly holden at New Haven, on the 13th day of October, 1726. Upon the intelligence of the Indian enemy coming toward our frontiers:

Resolved by this Assembly, That twenty effective men be forthwith raised in the

⁴ Col. Rec., VI, 511-512.

⁵ Col. Rec., VI, 551.

town of Milford, with a sargeant, and march forthwith to New Milford, to be under the command of Capt. Stephen Noble, to be improved for the defence of said town; and that the major of the regiment of New Haven forthwith make out the necessary orders therefor.

Resolved by this Assembly, That Capt. John Marsh and Capt. Stephen Noble forthwith send each of them a small scout at their discretion into the woods, and in the name of this Assembly to command all our friend Indians to retire to the respective towns or places where they belong, and that they may not be seen in the woods except in company with the Englishmen.

There were great apprehensions of trouble from the Canada Indians until the close of the French and English war, about 1760.

The friendship of the Indians with the New Milford people continued long, and was a source of much amusement to the young people, and some agreeable associations among the older people.

The Indians, in traveling from Scatacook to the Fishing Place or Falls, and returning, were accustomed for many years to stop over night at the houses of the principal inhabitants—such as Rev. Nathaniel Taylor, Sherman Boardman, and their children after them, and the Northrops, Boswicks, Gaylords, Wellses, Richmonds, and many others. On such occasions the Indians, in summer time, took possession of the barn, cooked their own victuals, such as fish or meats, but always called on the family for bread. If there were baskets to mend or such like work, they attended to it without words or leave, making no charges. In the winter the parties took possession of the kitchen, and the evening was merry with stories of hunting and the like, for the young people. In the morning, before the family were up, the Indians made the morning fire, with the great back-log, and then went on their way in business-like style.

The day after Thanksgiving the Indians came through the community in large numbers to receive what they called the "Skippings," or presents of food in the form of cakes, pies, and meats, such as the people chose to give. This was continued until within the memory of persons now living.

There is a tradition in the town of Bridgewater, that the Indians, very early in the settlement, stole a boy, took him into the woods and buried him all but his head, intending to have a powwow and burn him according to their old customs, but the boy was missed and a search was instituted, when an Indian was

found who was suspected of knowing where the boy was, and being threatened that if he did not show the place he would be put to death in a severe way, he led them to where the boy was confined. The name of the family to whom he belonged was well known, but is now forgotten.

Tom Wallops was long known in the vicinity of what is now Northville, on the east side of Mount Tom, where he settled not long after the Revolution and remained many years, but what became of him is not now known. He most probably removed to Scatacook. He is said to have had a wife and several children.

His hut stood on the hill by the side of the highway, a little south of the present residence of Mr. Albert N. Baldwin, on the lower road. In the field that now takes in this hill Mr. Baldwin found, about forty years ago, a large Indian pestle, which is still preserved. Old Tom was a great imitator of the whites; kept himself with much reserve from all other Indians, and was a kind of aristocracy, all to himself. In his later years he held a great thanksgiving dinner, which is still celebrated in story, as good amusement. "Tom prepared his thanksgiving feast by carefully obtaining beforehand an abundance of hominy and two quarts of rum. On the day of the feast, he and his wife being the guests, but she the servant in good Indian, submissive style, he ordered the hominy cooked, in abundance, and half the rum put into the hominy while cooking. Then in the eating, in order to have a number of courses for the meal, 'like white folks,' he ordered the pudding and rum set on the table to begin with, but soon the rum was ordered taken away and the hominy was enjoyed; then the hominy was removed and the rum brought on, and thus the changes went on as imitation of the highest style of white people until the hour of adjournment. In giving a description of the dinner, Tom said, 'I tell you, it was humming stuff.'"

Tom belonged to a cavalry company, and while on a scout was met by a superior force of the enemy and had to fly for safety, and being pursued was overtaken just as he reached a fence. The red-coat aimed a blow with his sabre, which grazed his head, and Tom fell from his horse as if dead. Tom, in telling the story, used to say: "I did not stir nor breathe as big as a

mouse till the trooper was out of sight." The red-coat remarked, as he wheeled, "One d—d Indian has got it." But when Tom came soon after, riding into camp, his comrades, who had seen the performance, greeted him with cheers of welcome.

The following is related of Tom in the *History of Redding, Conn.*, only the name is spelled Warrups, which probably is correct. This same story has been told of Tom Wallops, here in New Milford, only with the variation of the word Adjutant for General Putnam:

"The ringleader in all these forages [in Redding] was Tom Warrups, an Indian, grandson of Chickens, whose story is given in the earlier pages of this work,"¹¹ and one of Putnam's most valued scouts and messengers. Tom possessed a great deal of individuality, and impressed himself on a succeeding generation to the extent that numberless anecdotes are remembered and told about him to this day. Some of these, illustrating the Indian character, are worthy the attention of the grave historian. Tom had a weakness for liquor, which would have caused his expulsion from the camp had it not been for his services as a scout and guide. One day he was seen deplorably drunk, and the officer of the day in disgust ordered him to be ridden out of camp. A stout rail was brought, Tom was placed astride of it, four men hoisted it upon their shoulders, and the cavalcade started. On their way they met General Putnam, with his aids, making the rounds of the camp. 'Tom,' said the General, 'how's this? Aren't you ashamed to be seen riding out of camp in this way?' 'Yes,' replied Tom, with drunken gravity, 'Tom is ashamed, vera mooch ashamed, to see poor Indian ride and the General go afoot.'

"After the war, Captain Zalmon Read and Tom were near neighbors, and the former had a cornfield in dangerous proximity to Tom's cabin, and missing the corn, he put himself on watch. About midnight the Indian came, basket in hand, and seating himself on the top rail, thus addressed the field: 'Lot, can Tom have some corn?' 'Yes, Tom,' the lot would reply, 'take all you want,' and Tom filled his basket with ears and marched off. The next night, as the story goes, the captain armed himself with a grievous hickory club and lay in wait behind the fence. Pres-

¹¹ History of Redding, Conn., Todd, 1880, p. 65.


ently Tom came, repeated his formula, and proceeded to fill his basket, but when he returned with it to the fence, he met the captain, who proceeded to repeat Tom's formula with a variation: 'Lot, can I beat Tom?' 'Yes,' the lot replied, 'beat him all he deserves,' and in obedience to the liberty given, the fun-loving captain gave him the reward which his roguery deserved."

The History of Redding informs that Tom removed to Scatacook. It is probable that he went there and married, and soon came among the English, as being better pleased to live among them than among the Indians, as tradition in New Milford says, and settled near Great Mount Tom by the side of the highway, a few rods east of the old Theophilus Baldwin place, half a mile south of Northville.

Old Siacus, an Indian, was a resident above the Straits, at what is now Gaylord's Bridge, on the west side of the Housatonic, where he had an orchard of apple trees when William Gaylord, the first, settled at that place about 1725. When the township was purchased, he was sold out by his chiefs or kindred, yet he was allowed to live in his hut at that place and enjoy the fruit of his apple trees many years, very much to his comfort, and the old trees long stood as sentinels for the last of the race, in New Milford, after he had departed to the "far-away hunting grounds."

CHAPTER IX.

MORAVIAN MISSIONS.

INCE the Scatacook Indians,¹ after the year 1710, consisted largely of the remnants of various clans, who had dwelt southward from that place and especially and latterly at New Milford, and as such, were of the general Potatuck tribe, it will be interesting to look over some account of the labors of the Moravian Missionaries, which continued nearly eighteen years among this people. The efforts of these missionaries began at Shekomeko,¹ in New York state, about twenty miles from Kent, but soon after a station was established at Scatacook, now in Kent, and continued, with some interruptions, from 1743 to 1763.

The account here recorded is an abbreviation of that given in the *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, by George Henry Loskiel, the Second Part. This work was published first in the German language in 1789, and translated into English in 1794 by Ignatius La Trobé, and printed in London. That which is here produced is the substance of what is written concerning and in close connection with the mission among the Connecticut Indians, and much of it besides the literal quotations is given in the words of the Historian Loskiel,—the abbreviations being some of the details not interesting to the common reader. The consideration leading to the publication of this matter here, is, that it is worthy the attention of a Christian community, and has not been heretofore furnished in so reasonable form. The lesson to be learned is that religious persecution is a burning disgrace to the perpetrators, in whatever form it may be exercised, and wherever under the sun it may be indulged.

The Indians at Shekomeko (a locality now in the township

¹ This word is accented on the second syllable.



COUNT NICHOLAS ZINZENDORF.



of Pine Plains, Dutchess county, N. Y.) were connected with those of Connecticut, as will be seen during the narrative, and that locality may have been the place from which the Indians first migrated into Connecticut, more than three hundred years ago. The mission was first established at that place, then at Scatacook, and afterwards at other places in Connecticut.

In the previous part of this book we have traced the Indians from the shore of Long Island Sound up the Housatonic to New Milford, and finally to Scatacook, where they had gathered largely before the year 1710, and before Mauwchu made his residence there. They continued to gather at that place until after the Moravian Mission was established among them, but some had also joined their neighbors at Shekomeko, while others had gone to the Mohawks.

Previous to the year 1740, the Moravians² had established missions at the West Indies, and the Revs. George Whitefield and John Wesley organized schools for the Indians in South Carolina and Georgia; and that maintained by Mr. Whitefield was soon after removed to Pennsylvania, where it became the headquarters of the Moravian Missionaries, under the name of Bethlehem, not long after. Many years before this, however, the Catholics of Spain and France had established their missions along the St. Lawrence River, among the Five Nations in the Province of New York, and on the Mississippi River. There had also been missionaries among the Indians of New England at different times previous to this date.

Late in the year 1739, Christian Henry Rauch³ was sent from Marienborn, Holland, to New York, to seek an opportunity to preach the gospel to the Indians. No definite plan had been established to guide him in his work; but the instructions given to such missionaries by Count Zinzendorf, then warden of the congregations of the Moravian brethren, were nearly to this effect: "That they should silently observe whether any of the heathen had been prepared by the grace of God to receive and believe the word of life. If even only one were to be found, then they should preach the gospel to *him*, for God must give the heathen ears to hear the gospel, and hearts to receive it, other-

² For a sketch of the Moravian Church see note A in the Appendix.

³ Loskiel, II, p. 7.

wise all their labors upon them would be in vain." He also recommended that they should preach chiefly to such heathen who had never heard the gospel, adding, that: "we are not called to build upon foundations laid by others, nor to disturb their work, but to seek the outcasts and forsaken."

Mr. Rauch arrived at New York July 16, 1740, without family or acquaintances, being the first missionary sent by the brethren to this country. He knew nothing of the people to whom he was to preach, nor did he know where or in what manner he should seek after them. Under such circumstances it afforded him great pleasure to meet his fellow missionary, Frederic Martin, from St. Thomas, by whom he was introduced to some pious people. Upon informing them of his object, they represented that "many well-meant and expensive attempts had been made to Christianize the Indians, but without success, although in some places churches had been provided for them, a minister to preach, and a teacher to instruct their children; that they were still in their old ways, and addicted to drunkenness, for which reason no Europeans could dwell among them with safety." This report, however, did not change the missionary's mind in the least, and he started out on his wild hunt, not for Arabs, but for Indians.

Some days after, he heard that an embassy of Indians had arrived at New York to treat with the government. He sought and found them, and rejoiced that he was able to speak to them in the Dutch language, although they understood it but imperfectly. These were the first heathen he had ever seen. They were, he says, "Mahikander Indians, ferocious in appearance and manners, and were much intoxicated. Having waited until they became sober, he spoke to two of them, named Tschoop and Shabasch, leaders in their tribe, and inquired whether they desired a teacher to instruct in the way of salvation. Tschoop answered in the affirmative, adding that he frequently felt disposed to know better things than he did, but knew not how or where to find them, and if any one would come and instruct him and his acquaintance, he should be thankful; that they were all poor and wicked, yet he thought it might answer a good purpose if a teacher would come and dwell with them. Shabasch also assenting, the missionary "considered it as a call from God, and promised to accompany them on their return to

their people," upon which they declared him to be their preacher with true Indian solemnity.

By some erroneous arrangement the Indians started for home leaving the missionary in New York, but he soon learned, as he says, that they "lived in the Shekomeko,⁴ an Indian town about twenty-five miles east of North River, on the borders of Connecticut, a province of New England, near the Stislik Mountain, and accordingly he set out for that place." He arrived August 16th, 1740, in Shekomeko, and the two Indians having announced him as the man whom they had appointed to be their teacher, he was received in the Indian manner with much kindness, and made known the object of his visit in an earnest discourse concerning the gift of Christ to be the Savior. His address seemed at first to be received with interest, but, when on the next day he began to speak, he perceived that his words excited derision, and at last they openly laughed at him; but not being discouraged, he went on with his work, visiting the families daily in their huts and trying to show them the promises of the gospel in mercy, and the love of Christ for them; although it seemed as if all that had been told him of the Indians in New York was too true, for "drunkenness and every other vice prevailed among them in a shocking degree; robberies and murders being nothing uncommon."

It is also remarked by this missionary: "These were Mahikander Indians, but the Iriquois were no better [for to them he afterward preached], though some of them having been baptized by Romish priests, wore beads and crucifixes, which they considered merely as additions to their Indian finery."

In his work the missionary informs that he suffered excessive heat and fatigue in the woods, while traveling from one Indian town to another, having neither means to keep a horse nor money to hire a boat when needed, "nor would any one receive him into his house," so that according to his own expression he was as "one always seeking but never finding." But when, after a time, seeing that the word of the cross began to be the power of God unto salvation, he forgot all his troubles and sufferings and was filled with great delight.

Tschoop, the greatest drunkard amongst them, was the first "whose heart was powerfully awakened through the grace of

⁴ The spelling of names is as given in Loskiel's History.

Jesus Christ, and he then inquired what effects the blood of the Son of God slain on the cross could produce in the heart of man." The greatest gift that could have been given would not have afforded the pleasure to the missionary that the inquiries of this man did. His heart burned within him while he testified to this poor heathen the power of the blood of Jesus. Soon after this, Shabaseh was also awakened, and both seemed greatly affected at the description of the missionary in reference to the death of the Savior in behalf of sinners. When these things became noised abroad, the neighboring Christians in Shekomeko, and particularly in Rhinebeck, were stirred, and became eager to hear the gospel, and desired this missionary to preach to them in a barn, and many received an abiding blessing. Thus he continued a whole year, never omitting an opportunity to beseech and encourage the heathen to come to Christ.

But now the scale turned backward, for some white people, conceiving that their interests would be injured if the Indians were converted to Christianity, began to stir up the heathen against Mr. Rauch, representing him as seeking only to deceive and mislead them,—by which they were so much irritated that they at last threatened to shoot him unless he left the place. He therefore thought it wise to depart for a time, and sought shelter with a Mr. Rau, a farmer in the neighborhood. This man stated many objections to the plan of "Christianizing a set of savages, more like incarnate devils than human beings," but when the missionary declared his confidence in the power of the blood which Jesus had shed for these savages, also adding that he intended to earn his bread among them with the labor of his hands and the little skill he had acquired in medicine, the farmer offered him lodging and board on condition that he should instruct his children; for added he, "we white people are as wicked and ignorant as the heathen." How true the words of this farmer! In the settlement of the American colonies, some (not many) of the white people acted more like heathen than the heathen themselves, and then complained about "the wild savages." If these Indians stopped drinking "strong water," many of the whites would fail to make money by the sale thereof, so they must have the missionary killed or driven away. And what was worse than all: the churches and local magistrates, for a time, sat still and saw this wicked work go on, suffering it after this sort.

The missionary gladly accepted Mr. Rau's offer,—not a generous offer, for he was to receive the best part of the bargain in his own family, in the education of his children—yet for the missionary it was very comforting. While faithfully meeting the engagements of this new or additional work he did not neglect to make his daily visits to the Indians at Shekomeko, though attended with imminent danger of life; for the white people of the neighborhood continued to prepossess the minds of the heathen against him, pretending that he “only intended to carry away their young people beyond the sea and to sell them for slaves.” Who had taught the Indians the cruelties of slavery but these Christian white people, who were inciting them to murder the only man who was really following the example of the Master,—giving his life for the perishing? Even Tschoop and Shabasch were filled with mistrust and became disaffected towards him. Some of the Indians being told that, if they attended to him, they would certainly go to the devil, left the place to avoid him. And it is said that some of the whites went still further, and sought occasion to beat and abuse him, which he continually avoided by great caution and quiet deportment. “Some threatened to hang him in the woods; others endeavored to make the Indians drunk that they might murder him in a drunken frolic, for this the Indians afterwards acknowledged. Once an Indian ran after him with his hatchet, and would doubtless have killed him had he not stumbled and fallen into the water. Even Tschoop became so much irritated that he sought an opportunity to shoot him. Shabasch did not seek his life, but avoided him everywhere. Notwithstanding all this he followed these two persons with great patience and much love, praying for them and sowing the word of God in tears. He was remarkably prudent and cautious in all his work and ways, or his enemies would have triumphed in his removal by some means. And more, he acted from a good conscience, and trust in God, with firmness and courage.” This appears from a letter written by him at this time: “I am the most unworthy of all my brethren, and am convinced that our Saviour does not stand in need of me, and yet he favors me to be his servant. I feel, truly, as weak as a worm, and am ashamed before him when I consider my poverty and insufficiency. Did he not support me daily and hourly, I should long

before now have been overpowered by the rage and opposition of Satan. I am now called to believe what might seem impossible, for there is as yet not the least trace of that glory of God which shall once be revealed among the Gentiles; yet I will continue to preach the death of the Lord Jesus, for my soul hungers and thirsts after the salvation of these heathen. To gather souls for him is the chief desire of my heart, and I proceed upon the word of my Lord in spite of the combined force of the enemy; for no gate of hell is so well secured as to resist the power of Christ to burst it open."

In these confident hopes he was not disappointed, for the Indians, after a time, began to admire his perseverance, courage, meek and humble behavior, and formed a higher opinion of him. He frequently spent half a day in their cottages, ate and drank with them, and even lay down to sleep among them with the greatest composure; which circumstance made a particular impression upon them, and especially upon Tschoop. On a certain occasion, observing the missionary lying in his hut asleep, he confessed that he was struck with the thought: "This man cannot be a bad man, for he fears no evil, not even from us who are so savage, but sleeps comfortably and places his life in our hands"; and upon further consideration he was convinced that all the accounts spread by the white people to his prejudice proceeded only from malice. He then endeavored to convince his countrymen, and succeeded so well that in a short time the former confidence between them and the missionary was re-established, and they heard his testimonies of the love of Jesus to sinners with renewed eagerness, and began again to relish the truths of the gospel.

It was now that the missionary began to have joy instead of sorrow. Several persons were greatly moved by his preaching, and Tschoop was again "the first to wipe the tears from his eyes by expressing his anxious concern and desire to experience the power of the blood of Jesus in his heart." New life seemed now to possess the missionary's spirit, and was manifested in the cheerful energy and eagerness with which he preached the glad tidings to this poor, repenting prodigal. Tschoop soon became, not only a believer, but a witness to his own nation, and the change which took place in this man's conduct was very striking, for he had been distinguished in all parties engaged in diversion

as the most outrageous ; so much so that he had made himself a cripple by debauch and wickedness. The relation which he gave some time after is quite pointed, and is as follows :

"Brethren, I have been a heathen, and have grown old among the heathen, therefore I know how heathen think. Once a preacher came and began to explain to us that there was a God. We answered : 'Do you think we are so ignorant as not to know this? Go back to the place from whence you came.' Then another preacher came and began to teach us, saying : 'You must not steal, nor lie, nor get drunk. We answered : 'Thou fool, do you think we don't know these things? Learn first thyself, and then teach the people to whom you belong, to leave these things ; for who steal or lie, or who are more drunken than your own people?' And thus we dismissed him. After some time Brother Christian Henry Rauch came into my hut and sat down by me, and said : 'I come to you in the name of the Lord of heaven and earth. He sends to let you know that he will make you happy, and deliver you from the misery in which you at present lie. To this end he became a man, gave his life a ransom for man, and shed his blood for him !' When he had finished his discourse, he lay down upon a board, fatigued by the journey, and fell into a sound sleep. I then thought : 'What kind of a man is this? There he lies and sleeps. I might kill him and throw him into the woods and who would regard it? But this gives him no concern.' However, I could not forget his words. Even when I was asleep I dreamed of the blood which Christ shed for us. I found this preaching different from what I had ever heard, and I could not continue in my old ways. Thus, through the grace of God, an awakening took place amongst us. I say, therefore, brethren, preach Christ, our Saviour, and his sufferings and death, if you would have your words to gain entrance among the heathen."

Tschoop having thus become obedient to the gospel, Shabasch was soon reclaimed, and although the powers of darkness were constantly at work, not only to keep the Indians in general under the slavery of sin, but particularly to seduce Tschoop and Shabasch from the right way, yet the grace of Jesus prevailed in so much that in a short time a small company was collected, consisting of such who, convinced of their miserable state by nature,

expressed a most earnest desire to be delivered from it. Nor were these merely transient emotions; but many Indians, both in Shekomeko, Wachquatnach, Pachgatgoch, and other neighboring Indian towns, were deeply convinced of the truth of the gospel. They attended the meetings diligently, and with so good an effect that in many a visible change was effected in their lives and manners.

It is important to observe here, the extent of the field of labor of this missionary. Wachquatnach was in Salisbury, about twenty miles northeast of Shekomeko, and eighteen miles north of Scatacook in Kent. Pachgatgoch was what is called Scatacook, about twenty miles southeast from Shekomeko. Potatuck was about twenty miles a little east of south from Scatacook, and hence forty miles from Shekomeko. The missionary went down the river afterwards as far as Potatuck in Newtown, and up the river north as far as Westenhuck, near Stockbridge.

The missionary also took much pains with the Indians of all ages, to teach them more of the Dutch language, of which some understood a little. He taught some to read, that they might be the better able to comprehend his words, and to interpret them to their countrymen.

All this awakening, relapse, and restoration of confidence and revival among the Indians, had taken place within one year, and the missionary felt the need of some association with those in sympathy with him, and accordingly made a visit to his brethren, some of whom had become established at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania. This visit he made in June, 1741, whither all those brethren and sisters who had left Georgia had resorted, and by the desire of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield had settled upon a piece of land purchased by him for the establishment of a negro school. The house intended to be erected for this purpose, and of which he actually laid the foundation, was called Nazareth, from which afterwards the whole manor received its name. Mr. Whitefield having desired the brethren to finish the building, they undertook it, though attended with great danger, for the Indians refused to quit the country, and threatened to murder the brethren, and they were obliged to leave that place in the year 1740.

After this, a merchant offering to sell them a piece of land about ten miles south of Nazareth, in the forks of the Delaware,

on the Lecha, and Bishop David Nitschman arriving in 1740 with a company of brethren and sisters from Europe, they resolved to buy it and make a settlement upon it. It was in the forest, at a distance of eighty miles from the nearest town, and only two European houses stood in the neighborhood, about two miles up the river. No other dwellings were to be seen in the whole country except the scattered huts of the Indians. In this place the brethren built a settlement called Bethlehem, which by their perseverance, industry, and the accession of colonists from Europe, increased until it became quite a settlement. It was to this place that young ladies were sent fifty years later from Connecticut to be educated.

Some time after this, the Rev. Mr. Whitefield offered the manor of Nazareth for sale, and they accepted the opportunity, finished the house, and Nazareth became a very pleasant place. The disputes with the Indians concerning the possession of this manor were settled in an amicable way, as may be seen from Cranz's History of the Brethren, and Spangenberg's Life of Count Zinzendorf. This place became the center for all the missionary work of the brethren among the Indians of this country, and they still hold their mission-house at that place.

Having strengthened himself in faith and love during a few weeks' stay in Bethlehem, Christian Henry Rauch returned to his mission, accompanied by Bishop David Nitschman, who desired "to see with his own eyes the seed of the gospel spring up, and observe the work of grace among the Indians," and upon his return made a very favorable report of what he had seen in Shekomeko.

The brethren meanwhile sought how they might send assistants to labor in this hopeful work, and Martin Mack, one of the brethren from Georgia, and afterwards bishop and superintendent of the mission among the negroes in the Danish West India Islands, was appointed to it. In October, 1741, the Brethren Buettner, Pyrlaeus, and William Zander, arrived from Europe to assist in the mission.

Mr. Rauch was indefatigable in attending both to the instruction of the children of Mr. Rau and to the conversion of the savages, and it gave him great joy when Tschoop came to him of

his own accord and dictated the following letter to the brethren in Pennsylvania :

"I have been a poor wild heathen, and for forty years as ignorant as a dog. I was the greatest drunkard, and the most willing slave of the wicked one, and as I knew nothing of our Saviour, I served vain idols, which I now wish to see destroyed. When I heard that Jesus was the Saviour also of the heathen, and that I ought to give him my heart, I felt a drawing within me towards Him ; but my nearest relations, my wife and children, were my enemies, and my greatest enemy was my wife's mother. She told me that I was worse than a dog if I no more believed in her idol ; but my eyes being opened, I understood that what she said was all folly, for I knew that she had received her idol from her grandmother. It is made of leather, and decorated with wampum, and she, being the oldest person in the house, made us worship it, which we have done till our teacher came and told us of the Lamb of God, who shed His blood and died for us ignorant people. I was astonished at his doctrine, and as often as I heard it preached my heart grew warm. I even dreamed often that my teacher stood before me and preached to me. Now I feel and believe that our Saviour alone can help me by the power of His blood, and no other. I wish to be baptized, and frequently long for it most ardently. I am lame, and cannot travel in winter, but in April or in May I will come to you.

"I am your poor wild TSCHOOP."

At the end of the year 1741, Count Zinzendorf came to Pennsylvania as ordinary of the brethren, with a view to see not only their establishments in general, but especially the fruits of their labor among the heathen.

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Gottlob Buettner was sent on a visit to Mr. Rauch at Shekomeko, to invite him to a synod of the brethren, to be held at Oly. Mr. Buettner spent ten days at the mission, "rejoicing with amazement at so glorious a work of God begun amongst these wild heathen, and on January 14, 1742, he preached for the first time to thirty-two Indians.

"The Indians hearing that these two brethren intended to set out for Pennsylvania, Shabash, Seim, and Kiop obtained leave to accompany them, to visit there ; but Tschoop, being lame, could

not undertake so long a journey at that time. They left Shekomeko January 22d, but being on foot, and in the company of Indians, were refused admittance at some inns, and at others, not only laughed at, but their bills were purposely over-charged. They arrived at Oly, February 9th, by way of Philadelphia, where they met Count Zinzendorf and many laborers and ministers of various denominations. The presence of the three Indian visitors, 'whose hearts were filled with the grace of Jesus Christ, made a deep impression upon all.' They likewise made known how much they wished for baptism, for their missionary was not yet ordained. Having received the gospel with believing hearts, and being instructed in the doctrines of salvation, and earnestly desiring to obtain mercy, the synod first declared them candidates for baptism, and then resolved without delay to administer the same to them in the presence of the whole assembly.

"February 11, 1742, being the day appointed for this important transaction, was indeed a day never to be forgotten in the annals of this mission. The presence of God was sensibly felt during the morning prayer, but immediately after, some ill-disposed people coming from the neighborhood, raised such a disturbance that the whole company was on the point of dispersing and of postponing this transaction; but quietness being restored, there was a solemn meeting in the afternoon, in which Mr. Christian Henry Rauch, and his assistant, Mr. Gottlob Buettner, were ordained deacons by the two bishops, David Nitschman and Count Zinzendorf. After this act, preparations were made in a barn belonging to Mr. Van Dirk (there being no church in Oly) for the baptism of the Indians, which was to be administered by the missionary, Christian Henry Rauch. The whole assembly being met, the three catechumens were placed in the midst, and with fervent prayer devoted to the Lord Jesus Christ, as His eternal property; upon which Mr. Rauch, with great emotion, baptized these three firstlings of the North American Indians into the death of Jesus, calling Shabash, Abraham; Seim, Isaac; Kiop, Jacob."

The effect was very remarkable, and these Indians preached the whole night to a party of Delaware Indians, who were at that time in the place. Soon after this they set out with Mr.

Rauch, went first to Bethlehem, where they tarried a few days, and then, with their teacher, returned to Shekomeko.

On the 16th of April, in the same year, the first sacramental service was held in Shekomeko, when Mr. Rauch had the satisfaction of administering baptism to his follower, Tschoop, whom he called John. This man, who formerly looked more like a wild bear than a human being, was now transformed into a lamb, and whoever beheld him was amazed at the great change which had taken place in him. And indeed the difference between the countenances of the believing Indians and those of the savages was such that it was an occasion of remark by all.

Thus far we have seen the introduction of Christianity by the Moravian missionaries to the North American Indians. Up to this time the missionary, although making his home at Shekomeko, had visited, probably, several times, the Indians at Pachgatoch (Scatacook) and Wachquatnach in Salisbury.

Connecticut Remiss in Her Duty to the Indians.

Something had been done in a missionary way for the Indians of Connecticut before 1741, but that something was merest boy's play comparatively to what the gospel teaches Christians to do.

On the Housatonic River, from its mouth to the Massachusetts line and Vermont hills, nothing of worth had been done before 1736, only that which the Rev. Daniel Boardman did, so far as can be ascertained, except to compel the Indians to feel that they were under the laws of the colony—just the thing above all others that they objected to, and hated. Liberty or death had been instilled into the Indian mind for many ages, as is seen in all Indian history and records.

After Connecticut had slaughtered the Pequots in 1636, and assisted Rhode Island in a like work as to others in 1676, some measures were instituted by its Assembly for the education of the Indians in New London County, and afterwards in the town of Farmington; but how feeble and child-like was the effort! Then, in 1717, feeling conscience-smitten as to the great neglect in this matter, the General Assembly appointed the governor and his council "to draw up what they judge may be most proper and effectual for gospelizing the Indians," and requested a report at the next session. Upon that report in the next Octo-

ber, the following was the proposition authorized by the Assembly to accomplish the desired end :

"Resolved, That care be taken annually, by the authority of each town, to convene the Indians inhabiting in each town, and acquaint them with the laws of the government for punishing immorality as they shall be guilty of, and make them sensible that no exemption from the penalties of such laws lies for them any more than for other His Majesty's subjects."

Is this the way to "gospelize" anybody? If it was not for the absolute reliability of the record, it would be incredible that any legislature had ever, upon that specific proposition, enacted such measures for such an end. The old hated idea, upon which the Roman Catholic Church had proceeded for a thousand years, that religion could be propagated by the force of civil law, was neither dead nor left in the Old World. "Go and preach the gospel," was the original commission, but in Connecticut in 1717, as authorized in the General Assembly, it was: "by the authority of each town acquaint them with the laws of the government for punishing immoralities as they shall be guilty of." But this was not the worst act, for when, twenty-six years later, the Moravian missionaries came into the State with nothing but the gospel of love and mercy, this same Legislature enacted the most severe laws for the purpose of driving them out, and this is the lesson we shall learn with a sense of distress in the progress of this narration.

In May, 1736, the General Assembly sought to do something more than had been done for the Indians in the State, and particularly in Nahantick, and ordered: "That at the next public Thanksgiving that shall be appointed in this Colony, there shall be a contribution attended in every ecclesiastical society or parish in this government, and that the money that shall be raised thereby shall be improved for the civilizing and Christianizing of the Indian natives in this Colony (exclusive of the Moheags who are already provided for), and that his Honor the Governor send forth his order to the ministers of the respective parishes accordingly."

In 1734 a school had been established for the Indian children at Farmington, which was continued regularly at the expense of the general government for quite a number of years.

The first movement for the education and Christianization of

any of the Indians in the Housatonic valley was put forth upon the petition of Achetoset, at the mouth of the Shepaug River, in 1741, by which the Rev. Anthony Stoddard and Lt.-Colonel Preston were appointed to take care "that the said Indian be instructed according to his desire, and that his children be schooled and taught the principles of the Christian religion, and victualled, and that twenty pounds of the money raised by contribution . . . be improved in said service." This was in May, and nearly one year after the Moravian missionary, Rauch, began to preach at Shekomeko, and six months or more after the Scatacook Indians became awakened to these subjects. In May, 1742, the Rev. Daniel Boardman and Samuel Canfield of New Milford were appointed to a like service with Mr. Stoddard and Mr. Preston, to the Indians of New Milford, and twenty pounds money were appropriated for this work. This was after Warau-maug's death, and a year and a half after the revival began under the Moravians at Shekomeko and Scatacook.

In consideration of these facts, and remembering that in the Housatonic valley, from Long Island Sound to the Massachusetts State line, there had dwelt, during the occupation of the English up to 1742, more than two thousand natives, it is very difficult to judge otherwise, even with all considerations proper to be entertained, than that Connecticut had been remiss in her duty in behalf of the salvation and Christianization of the Indians.

CHAPTER X.

PROGRESS IN THE MORAVIAN MISSIONS.

IN the year 1742, Count Zinzendorf, who made the conversion of the heathen an object of his particular attention, undertook three different journeys to visit the Indians.

Before he set out, the missionaries, Frederic Martin, Gottlieb Israel, and George Weber, had arrived in Bethlehem from St. Thomas, with one of their negro converts, and there met Mr. Rauch and the Indian, John, from Shekomeko.

Having conferred with these missionaries concerning the labor among the heathen, he set out from Bethlehem on the 24th of July, with his daughter, Benigna, eleven brethren and three sisters, some of whom spoke English and Dutch, and others a little of the Indian language. He had likewise an Indian guide and interpreter. His first visit was to Nazareth and other Indian settlements in Pennsylvania.

The second visit was to Tulpehokin, where he met a numerous embassy of sachems, or heads of the Six Nations, returning from Philadelphia, and made a covenant of friendship with them and they with him.

Having a great desire to see the missionary Christian Henry Rauch, at Shekomeko, the Count left Bethlehem again on the 21st of August, with his daughter, Benigna, and Mr. Anthony Seyffart. They passed over the Blue Mountains to Menissing and Sopus, where they were joined by another party of brethren coming from New York, and arrived on the 27th in Shekomeko. The missionary received them into his hut with inexpressible joy, and the day following lodged them in a cottage of bark, erected for them, which Count Zinzendorf afterwards declared to be the most agreeable dwelling he had ever inhabited. Here he spent several days in conversing with the Indians and establish-

ing some regulations for the forwarding of the work of the mission, agreeably to which a Christian congregation was established in Shekomeko, statutes^d and regulations were agreed upon, and the four firstlings were appointed as assistants and "blessed for their office with imposition of hands. The same day the missionary, Rauch, administered holy baptism to six catechumens: Kaubus was called Timothy; Kermelok, Jonah; Herries, Thomas; Abraham's wife, Sarah; Isaac's wife, Rebecca; and Herries's wife, Esther.

"Thus the first congregation of believing Indians established by the brethren in North America consisted of ten persons. Their sincerity, faith, and love afforded great joy, and it was observed with what esteem they were treated, even by the wildest savages.

"September 4th, the Count took, publicly, an affectionate leave of this people, and, surrounded by a large number of Indians, sung a hymn in the Dutch language, upon which he, with his company, set out for Bethlehem, accompanied by some unbaptized Indians as guides. Two of them having answered several questions put to them in presence of the whole congregation, with cheerfulness and great emotion, were baptized by the Count and Gottlob Buettner, and called David and Joshua. This was the first baptism of Indians in Bethlehem."

It was during these 14 days' stay at Shekomeko that the Count visited New Milford, unless he came this way on his return to Philadelphia, which would have been but a little out of his way if he went through New York, which he would be most likely to do. The Rev. Stanley Griswold, in 1801, recorded that "Count Zinzendorf himself once came into this town on that business [Moravian missionary], and preached here." When Mr. Griswold preached this, Sherman Boardman was a deacon in the church here, who was fifteen years of age when the Count was here, and this fact, besides the memory of a number of other persons then living here, and had been from before the Count's visit, make it almost impossible that there should be an error as to the statement. At that time, 1743, the number of Indians residing in New Milford, at Falls Mountain, was small, but some were still at Potatuck, in Newtown, who may have come up to meet the stranger and hear the sermon.

Waraumaug had passed away about eight years before, and upon his death quite a number of the Indians removed to the valley of Ten Mile River, where the government gave them, in 1736, the privilege of occupying a piece of land, and required all persons to let them possess it in peace.

On the 1st of October, Gottlob Buettner and his wife arrived at Shekomeko, to the great joy of the missionary Rauch. These two messengers of peace preached the gospel with unanimity and zeal, either in English or Dutch, and John, Jonathan, and other baptized Indians interpreted and confirmed their words, both in public and private, with great energy. The missionaries read the Bible to the Indians, allowing them to ask questions, and thus instructed them in the way of salvation. The Indians from neighboring towns made frequent visits to Shekomeko, and many who formerly lived like wild beasts, worshiping idols, and pursuing all manner of vices, flocked to hear the gospel, under which some were so much moved that they ceased not to weep during the discourse; some fell upon their faces and by other signs showed how deeply the words had penetrated and humbled their hearts. When they returned home they told their friends and neighbors, and thus the awakening spread to all surrounding Indian settlements. Several of the Indians brought their children to the missionaries, begging them to care for them and instruct them. Thomas and Esther came and made them a present of their daughter, adding that they could not educate her as they ought. She was afterwards called Martha in baptism, became a member of the congregation in Bethlehem, and was appointed schoolmistress at a settlement of the brethren, called Litiz.

"More Indians having been baptized, a weekly meeting for the baptized only was now instituted, in which they were addressed as persons who had received mercy. They sung and prayed together, and concluded with imparting to each the kiss of peace. (Gal. xiii: 12.)

"Jonathan related that the farmer, John Rau, had asked him how it happened that now he was not as fond of hunting as formerly. 'True,' answered he, 'I am not, and do not intend to be as great a huntsman as formerly; my desire is now after our

Savior; all things belong to Him, and He gives them to whom He will.' A savage being present, replied: 'Is it the devil, then, who gives the deer to the heathen Indian?'"

December 6, 1742, a burying-ground was laid out for the baptized, and the child Lazara was the first interred in it. A week after this, the missionaries baptized fifteen persons on the same day.

Towards the close of the year, Martin Mack and his wife arrived at Shekomeko, and Mr. Rauch went on a visit to Bethlehem, upon which Abraham remarked: "Formerly I thought there was no man like Brother Rauch in the world, but now I am satisfied if only his brethren live with us." Mr. Mack at once became greatly interested in these Indians, and proved to be one of the most efficient and successful missionaries, and afterwards wrote: "John is a gifted and zealous witness for Jesus Christ, whom I cannot hear without astonishment. Abraham is a venerable, manly, and solid brother, preaching to all by his unblamable walk and conversation; he is also possessed of gifts to testify of our Saviour with energy and power."

"At the end of the year 1742, the number of baptized Indians in Shekomeko was thirty-one, most of whom were baptized in that place, but a few of them in Bethlehem, where they frequently visited. They were all of the Mahikander tribe, for the Iroquois seemed more willing at that time to promote the gospel among others than to receive it themselves. The missionaries also became more fully convinced that great caution would be requisite in their labors, since some of the tribes of Indians bore an irreconcilable hatred towards the Europeans, and therefore suspicion might easily arise as though they were in league with the hostile Indians."

Count Zinzendorf, after making all arrangements for the progress of the work, returned to Europe in the beginning of the year 1743, but previous to his departure sent Joseph Shaw to Shekomeko, as schoolmaster to the Indian children. Mr. Rauch, who had married in Bethlehem, returned to Shekomeko and labored with Buettner and Mack. Not long after Pyrlaeus and Senseman, and their wives, were added as workers in this same mission, and also Frederick Post, who afterwards married a baptized Indian woman. Mr. Buettner and his wife remained in

Shekomeko during the greater part of the year 1743. The other missionaries spent most of that period in visiting other places, especially Wechquatnach (in Salisbury) and Pachgatgoch (Scatacook), these Indians having earnestly and repeatedly desired the brethren to come and instruct them. They told the missionaries that some people in Freehold had offered them rum if they would kill Mr. Rauch, and expressed their astonishment that the white people were so enraged that the doctrine of Jesus Christ should be preached to the Indians, when they themselves were amused with so many foolish things.

The missionaries earned their own bread, chiefly by working for the Indians, though the latter were not able to pay much for the produce of their labor. They lived and dressed in the Indian manner, so that in traveling they were taken for Indians, but whenever they could not subsist by the work of their own hands, they were provided with the necessities of life by the brethren at Bethlehem.

In their calling and service they met with much opposition and many hard trials. In the midst of his work, while on a journey, Buettner was suddenly seized with hemorrhage from his lungs, which was the beginning of his final dissolution, and with much difficulty he performed the remainder of his journey.

"Most of the Indians who visited at Shekomeko and were truly awakened, lived in Pachgatgoch, about twenty miles from Shekomeko, in Connecticut. They first addressed the magistrates and begged for a Christian minister, but their petition being rejected, they sent to the brethren begging that a brother would come and preach to them 'the sweet words of Jesus.' Upon this the missionary Mack and his wife went thither and took up their abode on the 28th of January, 1743, with the captain of the town, whose whole family was awakened."

This account is confirmed by a recent writer in the following narration:

"In 1742 the Potatucks united with the Indians at New Milford in a petition to the Legislature for a school and a preacher. From the sentiments and language of the petitioners it is evident that it was dictated, as well as penned, by some pious white person of the neighborhood.' It has the signatures of Mowehu,

¹ By this missionary.

Cheery, and nine other natives, and it states the number of Potatucks at forty, and that of New Milford Indians at thirty individuals. The Assembly voted forty pounds in bills of the old tenor to assist the Indians of New Milford to obtain schools in that town and twenty-five pounds for the Potatucks who were to receive the same benefits in Newtown and Waterbury. The ministers of New Milford, Woodbury, and Newtown were recommended to take the petitioners under their care and instruction." ² The Indians desired a preacher to reside among them, but this the government did not see fit to grant, but sent the neighboring ministers instead to officiate, as circumstances would permit.

"During Mr. Mack's brief stay at Pachgatgoch, a man arrived belonging to the sect called the New Lights, and preached to the savages full two hours, declaring that God was exceedingly angry with them, and would send them all to hell. The poor heathen, already alarmed at their condition, found no comfort in this doctrine, and fled to Mr. Mack to desire that he would preach to them, saying that this white man held a doctrine different from that preached at Shekomeko, not speaking a word about the blood of Jesus."

"On the 4th of February, 1743, Mr. Mack and his wife started for Potatik, about seventy-five miles further inland. He had been expressly invited by the captain of the place, who formerly was so violent an opposer to the gospel that he threatened to tomahawk or shoot any one who should dare to speak to him a word of Jesus Christ."

There seems to have been some misapprehension about this place called Potatik, for writers have spoken of it as being in Newtown, instead of far to the north of Scatacook. Here the language says, 'about seventy-five miles inland,' and on the German map it is represented as being at the northern boundary of Connecticut, on the Housatonic River.

"On taking leave, the people wept and earnestly entreated them to return soon. In Potatik they entered the first hut they arrived at, and were received in the kindest manner, the Indian inquiring whether they came from Shekomeko, adding that it appeared to him so by their countenances. He then told them

² J. W. DeForest's Hist. Conn. Indians, 353.

that he had begun about a year and a half before to go to church. Being asked the reason for it, he answered that his late daughter in her last illness was much afraid of being damned eternally ; that on this account she had sent for a Christian preacher, who, after hearing her complaints, advised her not to do any work on Sunday, not to steal nor lie, but to go diligently to church, and to pray much, and thus she would become acceptable to God ; that upon this his daughter said : ' Father, I perceive that this advice comes too late, for I am now going to die ; you must not wait so long, else you will be also lost,' and soon after expired ; that ever since that time he had endeavored to do good, but found that he could not well accomplish it." Then Mr. Mack preached the love of Christ, which seemed to be new doctrine to him, and soon a large congregation assembled, to whom he announced his mission and the love of Christ revealed in the gospel. As soon as he left off speaking, they repeated his words one to another in their own language, adding that they had never heard anything like it. Many of these Indians spoke Dutch and English, and the others conversed with Mr. Mack in their own language, his wife being the interpreter, having been brought up among the Mohikander Indians. The day following, an English gentleman visited the missionary and kindly offered him a lodging in his house, representing the danger of living with the Indians ; but Mr. Mack answered, that having come hither wholly on their account, he wished rather to stay with them. Some Indians overhearing this conversation were greatly surprised, and told the others how much more this missionary loved them than any one had done before ; adding, that but few people of that description were in the world, and expressing their thankfulness to the missionary and his wife for their kindness.

Mr. Mack was frequently visited by the Europeans, who were amazed at his intrepidity in dwelling among the Indians. One of them, listening to a conversation between Mrs. Mack and the Indian women, asked an Indian what he thought of her. His answer was : " She believes what she speaks ; I never heard any one speak with such confidence, for her words proceed from her heart." At another time, the captain [chief] accidentally stepped into Mr. Mack's hut when some Europeans were there on a visit. He addressed them, saying : " You ought to be ashamed of your-

selves to have been so long amongst us, and never to have told us anything of what we hear from this man. He tells us what he has felt in his own heart, shows us the state of our hearts, and hits the mark exactly. But you chatter and read books, and never do the things you preach to others. From him we learn how we may be saved."

On his return to Pachgatgoch, he was met by the missionary Buettner and the Indian Joshua, and soon after six Indians belonging to this place were baptized, who afterwards "spent a great part of the night in praying, and in the day-time went about preaching Christ to their countrymen."

Among those who were then baptized was the captain of Pachgatgoch, Maweseman,³ named Gideon in baptism, and a son of the Indian brother Isaac in Shekomeko. "About two months before, the latter went to visit his father, whom he had not seen for eight years; but as he did not relish the gospel, he soon felt uneasy at Shekomeko and returned to Pachgatgoch, where the awakening had just commenced, and where his concern of mind increasing, he was no longer able to resist the grace of God and the power of His words, but sought and found remission of sins in the blood of Jesus." The edifying example of these six first converts at Pachgatgoch influenced many others. They soon made a visit to Shekomeko, accompanied by twenty-seven Indians from both Pachgatgoch and Potatik, who came to hear the "sweet words of life." This greatly enlivened the missionaries, and gave them new courage in preaching the gospel.

"Gideon now entreated that a missionary might come to reside at Pachgatgoch, and four deputies arrived from Potatik asking the same favor. This occasioned Mr. Mack to go hither the second time, and he found them all eager to hear the gospel. Above twenty baptized Indians from Shekomeko went with him, and were his faithful fellow-laborers. John [Tschoop, the cripple] was remarkably animated, to the astonishment of all his countrymen. He had a peculiar gift to render the subject he was speaking upon clear and impressive; sometimes he made use of figures, after the Indian manner. As an instance: in describing the wickedness of the human heart, he took a piece of board,

³ This was Mauwehu, and here he is said to be son of Isaac, whose Indian name was Seim, and if this relation existed then, Seim was of the Potatuck tribe.

and with charcoal drew the figure of a heart upon it, with strings and points proceeding from it in all directions. 'This,' said he, 'is the state of a man's heart; while Satan dwells in it, everything proceeds from it.' Joshua and Gideon bore likewise very powerful testimony to the doctrine of the Lord's atonement, for, having an experimental knowledge of it in their own hearts, they could not hold their peace.

"During the time of Mr. Mack's second visit to Potatik, Gideon remained in Pachgatgoch, where he was one day attacked by a savage, who, presenting his gun to his head, exclaimed: 'Now I will shoot you, for you speak nothing but Jesus.' Gideon answered: 'If Jesus does not permit you, you cannot shoot me.' The savage was so struck with the answer, that he dropped his gun and went home in silence. During this Indian's absence from home his wife had been taken suddenly ill; and as Mr. Mack had just returned to the place, the poor savage ran to meet him, begging that he would come and tell him and his wife something of God, though only two days had elapsed since he had resolved to shoot every one who should speak to him about conversion. Mr. Mack went with him, and found a great number of Indians gathered, to whom he and his Indian assistants, Joshua and Gideon, preached redemption in Christ with such power and unction that the people were greatly affected.

"It was a moving spectacle, to see the good people of Pachgatgoch take leave of the missionary and his company. They all met together and declared that though he had been a fortnight with them, they were yet very hungry after his words, and they begged that he would preach to them once more; upon which he spoke for some time on the power of the blood of Jesus. When he had finished, Joshua rose and continued the discourse, and, being hindered by his tears from preaching, Samuel continued, and then Gideon confirmed the words spoken. The emotion among the hearers was such, that Mr. Mack declared that he had never seen anything equal to it." Many years after, Anthony Seyffart wrote: "I still remember with great pleasure, what I saw in the year 1743 at Shekomeka, where the Indians in large bodies, upwards of an hundred in number, upon hearing the gospel of our Saviour, wept over their misery and transgressions,

praying for the remission of their sins. Thus those lines in an ancient hymn were here realized :—

‘ And tho’ a bear, he’s soften’d to a lamb ;
Tho’ cold as ice, his heart is set on flame.’

“The Indian congregation in Shekomeko continued to increase in number and grace ; there was only one thing wanting, namely, the administration of the Holy Communion, and the missionaries began to think it wrong to withhold this gift, granted by Jesus Christ himself in his last testament to his whole church, from this congregation of believing Indians. After much serious deliberation, ten of the baptized were nominated to be the first who should partake of the Lord’s Supper. They were previously instructed in the doctrines contained in the Holy Scriptures relating to this sacrament, namely, that in the Holy Communion they partook of the body and blood of Jesus Christ ; that they were thereby united to him by faith, and would receive a repeated assurance of the forgiveness of their sins.

The baptized first met March 13th, to partake of a love-feast according to the custom of the Apostolic churches, during which the great grace already bestowed upon them, and the future blessings to be imparted unto them by our Saviour, were spoken of. Afterwards the candidates for the Lord’s Supper had the Pedilavium (John XIII, 14), and having been confirmed with imposition of hands, this solemn meeting was concluded with the kiss of peace. Then this small congregation¹ of Indians enjoyed the Holy Communion according to the institution of the Lord Jesus Christ in remembrance of his death.

“At the second communion, on the 27th of July, twenty Indians were present, among whom were some from Pachgatgoch.” It was at this time that the Indians unanimously agreed to make even more statutes and regulations than those recommended to them by Count Zinzendorf, to which every one who would live amongst them should conform.

In July, 1743, the new chapel in Shekomeko was finished and consecrated, some of the elders at Bethlehem being present. This building was thirty feet long and twenty broad, and entirely covered with smooth bark. The daily meetings were now regu-

¹ By the word congregation is meant only those baptized.

lated in a better manner. The congregation usually met every forenoon to hear a discourse delivered upon some text of scripture, and every evening a hymn was sung. A monthly prayer-day was likewise established, on which accounts were read concerning the preaching of the gospel in different parts of the world, and prayer and supplication was made for men, with thanksgiving. The prayer-days were peculiarly agreeable to the Indians, especially because they heard that they were remembered in prayer by so many children of God in other places. On these days, and Sundays, and festival days, Shekomeko seemed all alive, and it may be said with truth, that the believers showed forth the death of the Lord both early and late. "On one day, above one hundred savages came thither on a visit."

The description given of the interest entertained by the Indians in these meetings was quite remarkable. An old Indian called Solomon, who was awakened but could not submit to own himself so great a sinner as he really was, removed with his whole family from Shekomeko, promising to return, perhaps in three weeks; but that same evening he came back and declared he could not leave the place. Jonas, whose wife was still unbaptized, and had resolved to leave him, asked the missionaries how he should conduct himself in this case. He was advised to behave with meekness and kindness, but yet to show firmness, and John was desired to speak with the woman. This had so good an effect that she said, "My heart is so bad that I must do evil, though I would not," and some time afterward she was converted to the Lord.

"Shekomeko being now well supplied with missionaries, Martin Mack and his wife settled at Pachgatgoch, built an Indian hut of bark, and, being surrounded on all sides with hills and rocks, frequently called to mind the favorite lines sung by the ancient Bohemian Brethren :

'The rugged rocks, the dreary wilderness,
Mountains and woods are our appointed place.
Mid storms and waves, on heathen shores unknown,
We have our temple and serve God alone.'

Yet for the Lord's sake he and his wife were contented to live here in poverty, and gladly suffer hardships. But the great awakening in this place soon raised the attention of the whole

neighborhood, especially of some white people, who did everything in their power to induce the Indians to forsake the brethren; for having been accustomed to make the dissolute life of the Indians, and especially their love for liquor, subservient to their advantage, they were exceedingly provoked when they saw the Indians beginning to turn from their evil ways, and to avoid all their sinful practices which had hitherto been so profitable to the traders. They first spread every kind of evil report against the missionary and his intentions, and finding that these were not listened to, they persuaded a clergyman of the Church of England⁵ in the neighborhood to join in their measures. A parish overseer was therefore sent to tell the Indians that they should send to New England for a minister and school-teacher, and the governor would pay their salaries.⁶ To this the Indians answered that they had teachers with whom they were well satisfied, and upon the overseer observing that the brethren preached false doctrine, they replied: 'You never disturb your own people in their way of living, let it be ever so sinful, and therefore do not disturb us. There are many churches in your towns, and various sects, each of whom calls the doctrine it professes the only right way to heaven, and yet you grant them full liberty; therefore permit us to believe what we please.'

This answer only tended the more to enrage their adversaries, for they publicly branded the brethren with the name of Papists and traitors; and the missionaries, Mack, Shaw, and Pyrlaeus, (the two latter being on a visit in Pachgatgoch), were taken up as Papists, and dragged up and down the country for three days, until the governor of Connecticut, hearing their case, honorably discharged them. Yet their accusers insisted on their being bound over in a penal sum of one hundred pounds to keep the laws of the country. Being not fully acquainted with all the special laws of the province, they perceived the trap laid for them, and thought it most prudent to retire to Shekomoko. Many of the believing Indians followed them, and the others made repeated visits to the missionaries. Some months afterward, Mr. Mack's wife ventured to go on a visit to the Indian

⁵ This must have been an error as to the church, since there was no such church nearer than Newtown in Connecticut.

⁶ Just the thing the governor had refused to do.

women at Pachgatgoch, where she learned the enemies continued to entice the Indians to forsake their connection with the brethren, and to desist from going to Shekomeko. One of them represented it as quite folly in them to fatigue themselves by so long a journey, when if they would come and hear him preach, he would give them money. Gideon answered: 'We do not desire to hear your words for money; I and my friends seek the salvation of our souls, and on this account the road to Shekomeko never seems too long, for we there hear the enlivening words of the gospel.'

From this time the persecutions of the missionaries by the whites continued to increase with surprising ingenuity and severity, for nearly every device of wickedness, except murder (which we now wonder at, as manifested in Mohammedan countries against our own missionaries), was perpetrated by the people of the states of Connecticut and New York against these faithful, humble, and successful preachers of the gospel. The most dangerous of all the charges made against them was, that the missionaries, being allied to the French in Canada (which was utterly untrue, as was finally proved), fomented the disturbances which were then taking place, and intended to furnish the Indians with arms to fight against the English, there being then an increasing prospect of war between the French and the English in America.

It is important to turn aside from the labors of the missionary to take notice of the laws which were enacted by the Connecticut legislature against these missionaries. A report was made to the Assembly by Messrs. James Wadsworth, Elihu Chauncey, John Ledyard, and Joseph Blackleach, in which they said: "That the common rumor is, that one of these foreigners have told the Indians that his majesty's subjects in these plantations will be destroyed by the Europeans settled on the southwest and the north, joined with the Flatheads on the west." Upon this report, without making further inquiry by a committee, as would have been Christian-like, the Assembly passed the following, in May, 1743:—

"Whereas, this Assembly is informed that there are several strangers, which it is supposed are not the subjects of our Sovereign Lord the King, but are foreigners, straggling about in this colony, upon evil and dangerous designs, endeavoring to sow

and spread false and dangerous doctrines of religion among us, to stir up discord among the people, to promote seditious designs against the government, to alienate and estrange the minds of the Indians from us, or to spy out our country; and whereas, there is danger many times arising from foreign ships or other vessels, coming to spy out our coasts, or in some clandestine manner to carry on an unlawful trade, which to prevent:

Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and Representatives, in General Court Assembled, and by the authority of the same: That all such foreigners or suspected persons aforesaid, and all such captains of ships, masters of vessels, or sea-faring men, suspected as aforesaid, may be taken up and carried before the governor of this colony, and such other of the civil authority, as his Honor shall think proper to call to his assistance, before whom any such suspected person, as aforesaid, may be examined. And the governor with the advice of the authority aforesaid, is authorized and impowered to take and use such means and methods as may be proper to prevent the mischiefs and dangers which may arise from such foreigners or suspected persons, and secure his majesty's interest in this colony.

And it is further enacted, That any assistant or justice of the peace, who is informed and hath good reason to think there is any such suspected person residing near him may (*ex officio*) enquire after, take up, and send such person before the governor, as aforesaid.⁷

It was under the protection of this law that designing persons raised the persecutions against the missionaries in the summer of 1743, and effected their expulsion from Scatacook, and all other stations in Connecticut. In view of the passage of such a law, palliating circumstances have been presented by various writers, but two things seem self-evident: That a dignified legislature should never, without investigation, enact a special law, upon suspicious report; and second, the fact of the beneficial results of the labors of these missionaries had been publicly known for nearly two years, when this law was called for and passed, and this consideration makes the proceedings of the legislature dishonorable as well as persecuting. It has been denied that this enactment was made in regard to the Moravian missionaries, but this is clearly set aside by the date and statements

⁷ Col. VIII, 521.

STISSING MOUNTAIN AND HALCYON LAKE, FROM HUETTER'S MONUMENT.—SEE PAGE 169.





of the enactment itself. In an article in the *American Church Review* for May and June, 1880, there is this statement in regard to the supposition that these missionaries were Catholic emissaries of the French government: "The success which the brethren had in winning confidence would only have made it more plain to discerning settlers, that they were Frenchmen of a new variety [Frenchmen speaking German with a native accent!], inasmuch as it was natural for an Indian to love a Frenchman." How is it "natural" for an Indian to love a Frenchman? Because the Frenchman treats the Indian as a human being, and the Englishman doesn't. Is that it?

In the same article referred to above, we read: "The establishment of a Moravian mission upon ground thus occupied by other religious instructors, could not but seem to be discourteous and unchristian interference." There was nothing being done for the Indians of Western Connecticut at that time (1740), in this direction, worthy of the honor of a school-boy; and therefore, if this work of the Moravian missionary was disrespectful, then the establishment of every Episcopal Church in Connecticut, from 1707 to 1800, was twofold a "discourteous and unchristian" proceeding, a view which the author of this work does by no means endorse; but inasmuch as the article referred to was written by an Episcopal minister, it is surprising that he should entertain such an argument. There are a number of other things quite surprising in the article referred to, particularly, that the Rev. Daniel Boardman was appointed as a teacher to the Scatacook Indians. So far as the appropriation of the government, given in May, 1742, of twenty pounds in the hands of Messrs. Boardman and Canfield would apply, it was for the Indians of New Milford, then located at Falls Mountain. If there are records, other than the printed colonial, that prove the supposition, then the claim holds, otherwise not. But if he was sent there, it was after the missionaries came, and instead of their crowding out Mr. Boardman as represented, he was crowding them out. The representation that the "New Lights" rejected, or objected to, uneducated ministers, and that they opposed the Separates, is wholly gratuitous, as to any date before about 1760; for it was the avowed principle of the New Lights that it was a duty in honest practice to separate from those whom they believed were in doctrinal and disciplinary error.

CHAPTER XI.

PERSECUTIONS AT SHEKOMEKO.¹



THESE missionaries, being driven out of Connecticut, made their residences at Shekomeko, continuing their work in the beginning of the year 1744; frequent visits being made to them by the awakened people in Pachgatgoch and Potatik, which were returned at different times by the missionaries and their Indian assistants.

A trader was endeavoring to persuade the Indian Abraham that the Brethren were not privileged teachers, when he answered: "They may be what they will, but I know what they have told me, and what God has wrought within me. Look at my poor countrymen there, lying drunk before your doors. Why do you not send privileged teachers to convert them? Four years ago I also lived like a beast, and not one of you troubled himself about me; but when the Brethren came, they preached the cross of Christ, and I have experienced the power of His blood, so that I am freed from the dominion of sin. Such teachers we want."

In February some Indian deputies arrived in Shekomeko from Westenhuck, to inquire whether the believing Indians would live in friendship with the new chief. Upon this the Indian brethren preached the word of God to these persons, adding: "When we once shall all believe in our Saviour, these embassies will be unnecessary, for we shall all be very good friends."

Thus was the Indian congregation at Shekomeko situated, when suddenly a most violent persecution arose. Some white people in the neighborhood continued to do everything they

¹ "Shacomico, a place in the remotest part of that county (Duchess), inhabited chiefly by Indians, where also live three Moravian priests with their families in a block-house, and sixteen Indian wigwams round about it. *Documentary History N. Y.* III, 1014." (See Rutenber's Indian Tribes, 86.)

could to seduce the Indians from their connection with the Brethren; not only by base insinuations, but by endeavoring to promote drunkenness and other crimes among them. The most successful of all their insinuations was, that the Brethren, being allied to the French in Canada, fomented the disturbances which were then taking place, and that they intended to furnish the Indians with arms to fight against the English. This falsehood they spread about with such boldness that at last the whole country was alarmed and filled with terror. The inhabitants of Sharon remained under arms for a whole week, and some even forsook their plantations.

March 1st, Mr. Hegeman, justice of the peace in Filkintown, arrived at Shekomeko and informed Mr. Mack that it was his duty to inquire what sort of people the Brethren were; for that the most dangerous tenets and views were ascribed to them; but that for himself he disbelieved all those lying reports concerning them, and acknowledged the mission in Shekomeko to be a work of God, because by the labor of the Brethren the most savage heathen had been so evidently changed, that he, and many other Christians, were put to shame by their godly walk and conversation; but that it would be of service to the Brethren themselves if he should be suffered minutely to examine into their affairs with a view to silence their adversaries. The missionary Buettner being absent, he deferred the examination, and when he returned in May, the missionaries informed the justice of his arrival; but instead of the justice, a corporal came on the 14th to demand their attendance on the following Friday at Pokeepsie about thirty miles distant, to exercise with the militia; but their names not being inserted in the list, they did not appear. Soon after, a similar message being sent and the names of the missionaries Rauch, Buettner, and Shaw expressly mentioned, Mr. Buettner went, some days previous to the time appointed, to Captain Herrman in Rhinebeck, and represented to him that, as ministers of the gospel, they ought to be exempt from military service. The captain replied, that they would be under a necessity to prove and swear to the validity of their calling, but dismissed them for the present. On the 18th of June, another summons was issued to require their attendance on the 23d. The day following, a justice of the peace, with some officers and

twelve men, arrived from Pokeepsie at Shekomeko, who informed the missionaries that two companies had been ready to march to arrest them, but that he had prevented it, with a view to examine the whole affair himself; and then desired to know who had sent them, and what was their business. To this Buettner replied, that they were sent by the Bishops of the Protestant Church of the Brethren to preach the gospel to the heathen. The justice observed that if they were Papists, as a clergyman in Dover had positively asserted in a letter but lately written, they could not be suffered to remain in the country, and that in general every inhabitant of this land was called upon to take two oaths, of which he delivered a written copy. To each the missionary declared he could assent, and all his brethren, but desired that he might not be required to take an oath, saying that he would willingly submit to any penalties they should inflict if he should be found acting contrary to his word, yes or no; and upon this the justice took leave of them.

On the 22d of June, they obeyed the summons and appeared at Rhinebeck before the authorities, and Buettner produced his written vocation, and his certificate of ordination duly signed by Bishop David Nitschman, adding, that the Protestant Church of the Brethren had been declared, by the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, an Episcopal and an Apostolical Church. All these evidences being rejected by the court, Buettner added: "Well, then, if our sincere verbal declarations, proved by written documents and testimonies, that we have demeaned ourselves amongst the savages as Protestant teachers, do not suffice, we submit; and you have the power to dictate our punishment, for we are subject to the magistrates and cannot oppose them, nor would we if we could." The justice, Mr. Beckman, assured him he had no idea of punishing them, but desired them to appear before the governor in October, and invited them to dinner, and dismissed them with much civility.

On the 14th of July they were tried again at Filkintown, and cleared by the testimony of their good friend John Rau. Again, on the 11th of August, they were examined before the Governor in New York, when Justice Beckman, happening to be in the city, took their part, "and affirmed that the good done by them among the Indians was undeniable"; and, although detained several

days in this matter, they were allowed, on the 21st of August, to return home, the secretary of the governor giving them a written certificate of their acquittal, to secure them against any injury from the mob.

(When such treatment is meted out to American missionaries in Turkey or India, at the present day, what charges of heathen wickedness fill all our religious papers!)

It now appeared that all that could be brought against the missionaries was, that they would not take an oath, and this fact was used with great energy to drive them out of the province; and soon an act was passed in the legislature of New York, positively prohibiting the Brethren to instruct the Indians. In obedience to this, the Brethren left off meeting with the Indian congregations, although the Indians continued their meetings, since they were not prohibited. December 15th, the sheriff and three justices arrived at Shekomeko, and in the name of the Governor and Council of New York, prohibited all meetings of the Brethren, and commanded the missionaries to appear before the court in Pokeepsie on the 17th. Buettner being very ill, Mack and Rauch appeared, and were expelled the country, under pretense of being in league with the French, and were forbidden, under a heavy penalty, "never more to appear among the Indians, without having taken the above-mentioned oaths of allegiance." (But Quakers and others stayed in the province by hundreds, without taking these or any oaths.)

Meanwhile, Bishop A. G. Spangenberg, to whom the care of the affairs of the Brethren in North America had been committed, arrived in New York, and his first step was to visit the congregation at Shekomeko,² where he arrived with Captain Garrison on the 6th of November, and remained there until the 18th. A part of the bishop's report reads as follows:—

"The nearer we approached Shekomeko, the more veneration we found amongst all ranks of people for the great work of God in this place. The justice of the peace at Milfy, about four miles from Shekomeko, accompanied us, and on the road declared that he would rather suffer his right hand to be cut off

² The sketch of the village of Shekomeko is a fac-simile of a drawing taken in 1745, and belonged to a number of papers relative to this station, preserved at Bethlehem.

than treat the Brethren conformably to the act passed against them, for that he was thoroughly convinced that the grace of God had by their means worked miracles in that place. But when upon our arrival we were eye-witnesses of it, dead indeed must that man be who could refrain from shedding tears of joy and gratitude for the grace bestowed upon this people. As we rode into town we met a man standing by the road-side, with a most remarkable countenance. We immediately thought of John, as described to us by Count Zinzendorf, and ventured to address him by that name. nor were we mistaken. He received us with great kindness, and brought us immediately to the missionaries. Then the venerable Elder Abraham came to see us, saluted us, and though he was marked after the Indian custom, with the figure of a snake upon each cheek, yet the grace of our Saviour was so visible in his countenance that we were struck with awe and amazement. The rest of the assistants came one after the other, and bid us welcome in the most affectionate manner. Indeed, there was not one of the congregation who did not express joy at our arrival. While we were thus surrounded by our Indian brethren and sisters, I took up a Bible, and the following text occurred to me: 'Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.'"

The bishop then inquired into the circumstances of each individual, exhorting them all to be faithful to the Lord.

Frequent attacks of spitting blood had for a considerable time gradually weakened the constitution of Gottlob Buettner, but the hard life he led among the Indians, and above all, the persecutions, attended with frequent and troublesome journeys in bad weather, increased his infirmities and hastened his dissolution. He gently fell asleep in Jesus, February 23, 1745, in the presence of all the Indian assistants. In a lowly cabin in the wilderness, far from his native land and kindred, the young and devoted herald of the cross waits for the summons of his reprieve, and while yet his comrades are singing the sweet songs of hope, Buettner, the faithful, breathes his last, and enters the realms of life forevermore. The Indians weep over him as for a beloved father, and think of all the wonderful words he had spoken unto them. To show their regard for him, they dressed his corpse in

white, and interred his remains with great solemnity in the burying-ground at Shekomeko, watering his grave with numberless tears, for a long time thereafter. The following words were inscribed upon the tombstone :

"Here lies the body of Gottlob Buettner, who, according to the commandment of his crucified God and Saviour, brought the glad tidings to the heathen that the blood of Jesus had made an atonement for their sins. As many as embraced this doctrine in faith were baptized into the death of the Lord. His last prayer was, that they might be preserved until the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. He was born December 29, 1716, and fell asleep in the Lord, February 23, 1745."

It will be interesting to pause here in our narrative to see what has been done by way of memorial to this missionary and the station wherein he fell while faithfully laboring under his commission.

By a vote of the *Moravian Historical Society* of Pennsylvania, July 11, 1859, a committee was appointed to "collect the requisite funds and erect monuments over the grave of Gottlob Buettner, at Shekomeko, and near the graves of David Bruce and Joseph Powell, at Wechquadnach," consisting of the following members of that society :

Rev. SYLVESTER WOLLE, Bethlehem, Chairman.
 Rt. Rev. PETER WOLLE, "
 Rev. HENRY A. SHULTZ, "
 WILLIAM C. REICHEL, "
 ANDREW G. KERN, Nazareth.
 GRANVILLE HENRY, "
 JOHN BECK LITIZ, "
 JOHN JORDON, JR., Philadelphia.
 TOWNSEND WARD, "
 JOHN A. McALLISTER, "
 Rev. SHELDON DAVIS, Pleasant Valley, Dutchess Co., N. Y.
 BENSON J. LOSSING, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

The following gentlemen, having consented to serve on the committee, were added to the number :

Rev. EDWARD T. SENSEMAN, New York.
 A. BININGER CLARK, " "
 Rev. EDWARD A. DE SCHWEINITZ, Philadelphia.
 Rev. EMILE A. DE SCHWEINITZ, Salem, N. C.
 EDWARD HUNTING, Pine Plains, Dutchess Co., N. Y.
 THERON WILBER, " " " " "
 ANDREW LAKE, SR., Sharon, Litchfield Co., Conn.

The monuments, selected by Messrs. Davis and Lossing were of the finest Italian marble, and that of Shekomeko was 6 feet 6½ inches in height. The lettering on this stone is as follows:

[*North Side.*]
 SHEKOMEKO MISSION,
 COMMENCED AUGUST 16, 1740,
 BY
 CHRISTIAN HENRY RAUCH.
 ERECTED BY THE
 MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
 OCTOBER 5, 1859.
 [*South Side.*]
 IN MEMORY OF
 THE MOHICAN INDIANS,
 LAZARA,
 BAPTIZED, DEC. 1, 1742; DIED, DEC. 5, 1742:
 AND
 DANIEL,
 BAPTIZED, DEC. 26, 1742; DIED, MARCH 20, 1744.
 [*West Side.*]

German inscription that covered the original tombstone of Buettner.

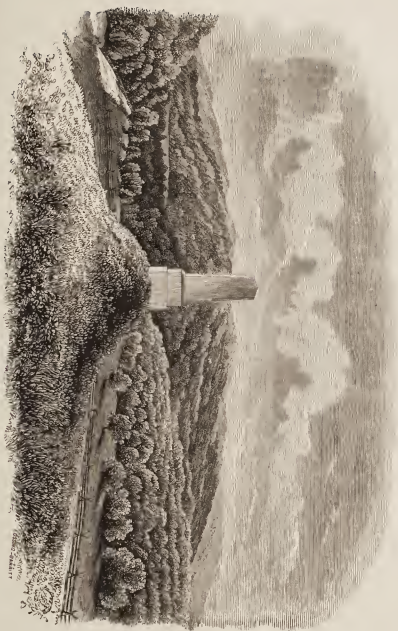
[*East Side. A translation from the west side.*]
 HERE LIES THE BODY
 OF
 GOTTLOB BÜTTNER,
 WHO, ACCORDING TO THE COMMANDMENT
 OF HIS CRUCIFIED GOD AND SAVIOR,
 BROUGHT THE GLAD TIDINGS
 TO THE HEATHEN THAT THE
 BLOOD OF JESUS
 HAD MADE AN ATONEMENT FOR THEIR SINS.
 AS MANY AS EMBRACED
 THIS DOCTRINE IN FAITH WERE BAPTIZED
 INTO THE DEATH OF THE LORD.
 HIS LAST PRAYER WAS THAT THEY MIGHT
 BE PRESERVED UNTIL THE DAY OF OUR
 LORD JESUS CHRIST.
 HE WAS BORN, DEC. 29, 1716,
 AND FELL ASLEEP IN THE LORD, FEB. 23, 1745.

The locality of this monument, and the scenery on the day of dedication, Oct. 6, 1859, is thus described:³

"The site is preëminently commanding. It overlooks the flats of the Shekomeko and the valley of the Stissing. It was near the close of a lovely October day, as we viewed these hallowed

³ Memorial of the Dedication of the Monuments, p. 90.

HUETNER'S MONUMENT.





grounds, and the quiet of the landscape that met our eyes was in consonance with the feelings awakened by the associations of the interesting locality. The memories of the silent past were reflected by mountain and forest and sky, as they lay in softened sublimity in the magic haze of the autumnal horizon. Nature appeared to us more than ordinarily beautiful, and this, too, at a season when she decks herself in her most brilliant garments. The eastern slope of the Stissing was one mosaic of crimson and emerald and gold, and at its foot, toward the north, like a sapphire set in the midst of this gorgeous splendor, lay the placid expanse of Halcyon Lake. The lowlands to the south were already checkered with lengthened shadows, and, when we left, the site of the old Indian village in the hollow below lay buried in the dusk of twilight, as are the records of what here transpired in the every-day life of Abraham, and Isaac, and John, and the other worthies who clustered around the bark-covered church of the Moravian Missionaries."

*A Brief account of this Missionary.**

Gottlob Buettner was born in Silesia, now a province of Prussia, Dec. 28, 1716, O. S. He became acquainted with the Brethren at their settlements of Marienborn, Herrnhaag, and Herrnhut. After having joined the church, and expressed his desire to serve his Lord in the conversion of the Indians in North America, he was commissioned, and came to America with the Brethren Pyrlaeus and Zander, and arrived in October, 1741. He was for a short season spiritual adviser to the Brethren of Bethlehem, Pa., next, preached to the Lutherans at Tulpehocken and the neighborhood, and finally was appointed to labor among the Mohican Indians at Shekomeko, by Count Zinzendorf, in January, 1742, where Mr. Rauch had been laboring from the first, to that time. After visiting Shekomeko he returned to Bethlehem, when he married Margaretta, daughter of John Brechtel, of Germantown. Soon after, he set out with his wife, on horseback, for Shekomeko, crossing the Hudson at Rhinebeck, which was a rendezvous of the Brethren, for there several families belonging to the faith resided. At Shekomeko both missionaries now preached with zeal in English and Dutch,

* Memorial of the Dedication of the Monuments, p. 134.

while two of the converted Indians, John and Jonathan, interpreted their discourses to the congregation with great effect. The Indians from the neighboring towns began to flock to the place, and a great interest in the gospel followed, which was only hindered by the marvelous opposition of the white people.

It is now believed that, "if this great work had been permitted to progress without interruption, and had been carried further by the missionaries, with the same zeal and diligence with which it was begun, the North American Indian tribes might now constitute a great and powerful nation, adorned with all the arts of civilized life, and forming an important portion of the free and enlightened citizens of our great American confederacy."

Gottlob Buettner continued zealously at his work under great difficulties and hardships, and when his Brethren were driven away from Shekomeko by the acts of the New York legislature, he was too ill to be removed, and soon after departed this life, February 23, 1745.

After the burial of Buettner, the believing Indians held a council to consider whether they should not quit Shekomeko, fearing that if left to themselves they might gradually fall back to their old ways, and especially as the Elders in Bethlehem were compelled by the act above mentioned to recall all the missionaries from Shekomeko, that they might not give further suspicion by continuing to reside there. The grief felt by these faithful witnesses in leaving their congregation was past description.

The congregation at Shekomeko continued to meet in their usual order, to edify each other, and only now and then one or more Brethren went to visit and advise with them. The Indians went frequently to Bethlehem in large companies, and sometimes spent weeks there, being always received with great friendship.

Persecutions, however, continued against the natives in Shekomeko and in Connecticut, but they continued faithful in a wonderful manner. Sometimes they were sharp in their reproof to the white people, and they had as much right so to be, as the white people had to complain of the Indians. "A Dutch clergyman in Westenhuck, asked an Indian whom he had baptized, whether he had been in Shekomeko? whether he had heard the missionary preach, and how he liked him? The

Indian answered, that he had been there, and had attended to the missionary's words and liked to hear them, and that he would rather hear the missionary than him; for when the missionary spoke it was as though his words laid hold of his heart, but that he was always playing about the truth and never came to the point.

"Upon another occasion a white man asked John whether the Brethren were Papists? John desired to know what the Papists were, and when he heard of the worship of images, he replied, that he supposed those people were most like Papists who worshipped their cows, horses, and plantations, as he had done formerly. The white man asked: 'But why are the people so enraged at the Brethren?' John answered: 'Why did the people crucify the Lord, and throw Paul into prison?'"

When the missionary Mack, his wife, the widow of Buettner, and Post's wife, with several small children, were on their way from Shekomeko to Bethlehem, they met with much trouble through the enmity of some enraged justices at Sopus. Mr. Post's wife, being an Indian woman, furnished a pretense for detaining the whole company as traitors. The mob assembled and great mischief might have followed, had not Colonel Loewenstein very providentially arrived, who, having publicly reprimanded the justice who detained them, set them at liberty; but they were insulted by the mob, and had to suffer much in the open street from the cold and violent rain, before they were permitted to proceed on their journey.

But now, when driven out of their first missionary fields, the labors of the Brethren began to bear fruit in other parts of the country. In April, 1745, they had the joy to baptize the first fruits of the gospel among the Delaware Indians. The frequent visits of the Brethren to the Delaware towns had as yet been attended with little success; but the believing Mahikans, inhabitants of Shekomeko, having contracted an acquaintance with many Delawares, and these two nations understanding each other, both speaking a dialect of the same language, the Mahikans became the apostles to the Delawares.

There was manifested at this time great anxiety among the believing Indians to have their children educated at Bethlehem, and, so far as the Brethren were able, this desire was gratified;

and in this way began the efforts which made that school quite celebrated for the children of white people as well ; for about 1785, several daughters of white people were sent there from the Housatonic valley.

In the summer of 1745, Bishop Spangenberg visited the Onondaga Indians, and being cordially received, and the tribe renewing their covenant of friendship they had made with Count Zinzendorf, the bishop proposed to remove his believing brethren to Wajomick (Wyoming), which was well received by the Iroquois ; but contrary to all expectation the Indians of Shekomeko refused to accept the proposition, lest they should offend the governor of New York, who had pledged them his protection. But soon after this, an event happened which obliged the Indians to follow the advice given by the Brethren ; for the white people came to a resolution to drive the believing Indians from Shekomeko by force, under a pretense that the ground upon which the town was built belonged to other people, who would soon come and take possession of it. The Indians applied for help to the governor of New York, but finding their petition not attended to, and that they would at last be compelled to emigrate, they began to take the proposal made by the brethren into more serious deliberation, and as several expressed an inclination to live near Bethlehem, their visits to that place became more frequent towards the close of the year.

The situation of the congregation at Shekomeko now became very distressing, for the white people seized the land, and appointed a watch to prevent all visits from Bethlehem. The war between the English and French occasioned great alarm. The Indians were afraid of both parties, but the English mistrusted their neutrality, and in some places went armed to church. The unbelieving Indians in Westenhuck made several attempts to draw the Christian Indians in Shekomeko into their party, and some Christians in the neighborhood exerted themselves to persuade them to join their congregations. The believing Indians were poor, and were frequently obliged to spend much time among immoral people to get a livelihood. Many of them were deeply in debt, contracted both by their profligate lives previous to their conversion, and by suffering great impositions from some bad neighbors. These debtors were now subject to much

ill treatment, and even threatened with imprisonment. Not seeing any possibility of paying their creditors, and not willing to run away, they had no other refuge but to beg the congregation at Bethlehem to assist them, which was done with great willingness.

In the beginning of 1746, Bishop Frederic Cammerhof came from Europe, to assist Bishop Frederic Spangenberg in the superintendency of all the establishments of the Brethren in North America, of which the mission among the Indians was a principal object. Both bishops, therefore, with the elders at Bethlehem, zealously exerted themselves to afford some relief to the oppressed congregation in Shekomeko. His Excellency, George Thomas, Governor of Pennsylvania, being apprised of the situation of the Christian Indians, had ordered that all who took refuge in Pennsylvania should be protected in the quiet practice of their religious profession. (There was then one governor who acted the part of a Christian.) The Brethren, however, could not immediately give up the idea of removing the Indians to Wajomick in the free Indian territory, and desiring to prevail upon them to agree to this proposal, sent the missionary Martin Mack in March to Wajomick, accurately to survey the country; but the object failed, and the Brethren invited the Indians to remove thither. At this period the congregation in Shekomeko was persecuted more than ever. Their enemies reported that a thousand French troops were on their march to the province, with whom the Indians of Shekomeko would join and then ravage the country with fire and sword. (How absurd!) This rumor spread such terror, particularly in Rhinebeck, that the inhabitants demanded a warrant of the justice to go and kill all the Indians at Shekomeko; and although the warrant was not granted, yet it was soon known in Shekomeko that it had been demanded, and the sufferings of the Indians rose at length to such a pitch, that though their attachment to Shekomeko was very great, some of them at last resolved to accept the invitation at Bethlehem, and ten families, in all forty-four persons, left Shekomeko in April with sorrow and tears, and were received in Bethlehem with tenderness and compassion. Several of them immediately built cottages near the settlement, and this place was called *Friedenshuetten*, or Tents of Peace, and was estab-

lished merely for temporary convenience. But, soon after, two hundred acres of land were purchased, situated on the junction of the rivers Mahony and Lecha, beyond the Blue Mountains, about thirty miles from Bethlehem, and the same distance from Wajomick, and this place was called Gnadenhuetten, or Tents of Grace.

When the news of this new settlement reached Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch, many of the Indians in those places were also induced to remove to Gnadenhuetten; so that, in a short time, the latter place contained more Christian Indians than the two former. Their enemies, though resolved to expel them from Shekomeko, saw with regret that they all emigrated to Bethlehem; and, to deter the remainder from following their brethren, raised a malicious report that the last party of emigrants had been murdered on the road. These false rumors were not credited, and a number of Indian families, who were just then preparing for the journey, set out without fear.

The emigration from Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch to Gnadenhuetten was attended with no small embarrassment, both to the Indians and to the congregation at Bethlehem. Whenever a family intended to emigrate, the neighboring traders brought bills, demanding payment; and the Indians, neither able to read nor write, were compelled to submit to frequent impositions. The Brethren assisted them to the utmost of their power. Most of the Indian parents urged the placing of their children in the schools at Bethlehem and Nazareth; and, although this was an expense to the mission, it was always granted. Their temporary residence near Bethlehem, where the Brethren were obliged to provide them with all the necessities of life, occasioned an expense. The settling at Gnadenhuetten was also expensive, for it was necessary to clear the land from the forests before it could be planted. But, as soon as circumstances would permit, each family was put into possession of its own lot of ground, and began its separate housekeeping.

The French and English war growing worse, the Brethren were not able to visit Shekomeko until the 24th of July, 1746, when the Brethren Hagen and Post were sent thither to make their last visit. By a written deed they secured the chapel to the Indians, held some meetings, and concluded their labors at

Shekomeko. Within the space of two years, sixty-one grown persons had been baptized there, exclusive of those baptized in Bethlehem. The converted Indians were now dispersed into different places, at a considerable distance from each other,—in Gnadenhuetten, Bethlehem, Pachgatgoch, Wechquatnach, and Shekomeko. Some were so much attached to the latter place, that, notwithstanding the war and other troubles, they could not resolve to emigrate.

Frederic Post stayed some time in Pachgatgoch, living in the Indian manner, preaching the gospel, and at the same time working at his trade as a joiner. The Brethren of Bethlehem came frequently to Pachgatgoch and Wechquatnach, wishing to prevent the spark of truth yet glimmering in these places from being entirely extinguished.

The labors of the missionaries were now largely turned to the Iroquois Indians.

Soon after this, the small-pox broke out among the Indians, first at Bethlehem, and then at Gnadenhuetten, an exaggerated account of which was reported in Connecticut and placed upon record as true history. The record of the Missionary Brethren is that, from this disease at this time, eighteen persons departed this life, among whom were several very useful and valuable assistants, whose loss the missionaries most sincerely lamented, namely, John, Isaac, David, Jonas, Abraham, and his wife Sarah. The following is a brief account of their lives :

John (Tschoop) was one of the first converts. As a heathen he distinguished himself in sinful practices, and by his natural wit and humor ; so, as a Christian, he became a most persuasive witness. Few of his countrymen could vie with him in point of Indian oratory. His discourses were full of animation, and his words penetrated like fire into the hearts of his countrymen. His soul found a rich pasture in the gospel, and, whether at home or on a journey, he could not forbear speaking of the salvation purchased for us, whether his hearers were Christians or heathen. Nor was he less respected as a chief among the Indians, no affairs of state being transacted without his advice and consent. During his illness the believing Indians went often and stood weeping around his bed, when he spoke with energy of the truth of the gospel, and in all things approved himself to his last breath as a minister of God.

Isaac (Seim) was also one of the first fruits, and formerly known as a great sorcerer ; but he was made a miracle of grace. After his baptism he became remarkably tender-hearted and benevolent, and by his peculiar gifts was well qualified for his office as servant, both in the congregation at Shekomeko and in attending strangers. His happy departure was a most convincing proof of his living faith, and the great benefits bestowed on the natives by the labors of these missionaries.

David, baptized in the year 1742, in Bethlehem, and could talk in Low Dutch, was a true lover of the Lord Jesus and a faithful witness and laborer among his countrymen, whom he also served as interpreter. While testifying to the truth of the gospel to a white man, although he could not read, he said, "I have five significant letters which I study at home and in the forest." The European asked what letters they were, and he answered, "They are the five wounds of my crucified Saviour. These I consider daily, and find always new lessons for my heart."

Thomas (Herries) was also a faithful witness to the truth among his countrymen. Some years after his death several were converted who owned that they had received their first convictions by means of the powerful testimony of this man, and could never after forget his words concerning the Saviour Jesus Christ.

Jonas (Kermelok) was John's assistant in teaching, and, having a particular gift in the leading of souls, he was universally esteemed. He was remarkably cheerful during his last illness, predicted the hour of his departure, and having taken an affectionate leave of his wife, addressed the Missionary Christian Henry Rauch, with a cheerful countenance, saying, "May I not hope soon to depart? I am weary and wish to rest, for I have finished my work," and immediately expired.

Abraham (Shabash, one of those Mr. Rauch met in New York when he first came there), another of the first fruits, was a chief much respected on account of his wisdom and grave deportment. He was appointed elder of the congregation at Shekomeko, and in this office maintained a very distinguished character, possessing the esteem of all the brethren and sisters. His wife Sarah was a faithful assistant in the care of the

women, and distinguished herself by her good understanding and propriety of conduct.

Dreadful as the small-pox appears to the Indians in general, the believers showed but little fear, and the cheerful, contented disposition of those who departed this life by means of this contagion was edifying to all who were witnesses of it.

In 1750 Bishop Cammerhof and Mr. Grube preached and administered the sacraments in Pachgatgoch, and a Brother Bueninger continued to serve this small congregation, which are encamped in huts around his cottage. Most of the baptized at Wechquatnach had removed to Gnadenhuetten.

Pachgatgoch being near two hundred miles from Bethlehem, the missionaries to whom that post and Potatik were committed stood in need of some occasional relaxation. Mr. Senseman therefore went in February, 1751, to Pachgatgoch and took the care of the congregation and schools until July, when Bueninger, after having rested during this time in Bethlehem, resumed his successful labors. In his leisure hours he worked in the plantation, and gave a good example by encouraging the Indians to industry that they might not suffer famine in winter.

In this year the Chief of Westenhuck, who had been long acquainted with the Brethren, and had visited Bethlehem, departed this life. He spoke of the Savior to his last breath, and his friends testified that they had never known any one depart this life with more serenity and happiness.

In 1752 the course of the congregation at Pachgatgoch became more hopeful, persecutions having nearly ceased, and Bishop Spangenberg preached the gospel with much success, one of the assistants from Gnadenhuetten being interpreter. By degrees the number of constant hearers increased so much, that a resolution was taken to erect a large chapel and school-house. All the inhabitants took their share in this work, with great willingness, and missionaries were excited to praise God for the grace bestowed on this people, naturally given to sloth, but now ready to perform the hardest labor for the cause of the gospel. When the house was finished and solemnly dedicated to the service of the Lord, the missionaries rendered thanks to him, that during the whole work, there had not been the least appearance of dis-

satisfaction. From this time the work of this station was conducted with more regularity and better success.

About this time, the small congregation of Indians at Wech-quatch were driven away by their neighbors, and some retired to Wajomick. Thirty-four of these having given satisfactory proofs of their sincerity, obtained leave to remove to Gnaden-huetten.

In 1754, the congregation at Pachgatgoch, consisting of more than one hundred Indians, proceeded in a pleasing course. The missionaries praised God, especially for the unreserved manner in which the Indians owned their defects and asked advice. One of them said, "that he was in doubt how he should conduct himself, his heart being as unbroken as that of a horse," for, said he, "a man may have a very wild horse, but if he can only once make it eat salt out of his hand, then it will always come to him again; but I am not so disposed toward the Savior, who is continually offering me his grace. I have once tasted grace out of his hand, yet my heart still runs away, even when he holds his grace unto me. Thus we Indians are so very stupid that we have not even the sense of beasts."

As to externals, they had much disturbance towards the close of the year. Four white people having been murdered by some unknown Indians at Stockbridge, the inhabitants of the neighboring town of Sharon were in the utmost consternation, and the magistrates sent a peremptory order to Pachgatgoch that no Indian should set foot upon their land under pain of death. A suspicion arising that one of the murderers was secreted here, the Brethren were obliged to submit to a disagreeable examination, by which, however, their innocence was fully proved.

In 1755, the troubles occasioned by the war increased in this place. The neighborhood being in great dread of the French, the young Indians were called on to serve against them, and some of the baptized suffered themselves to be persuaded to take the field, and repented when too late.

Christian Seidel came twice this year to Pachgatgoch, baptized several Indians, administered the Lord's supper, passing through Oblong, Salisbury, Shekomeko, and Rhinebeck, where his testimony of the gospel was well received by many. He rejoiced greatly over the small church at Pachgatgoch, which truly de-

served the character given it by an Indian brother: "Methinks," said he, "we are a small seed sown in the ground, where it first lies dormant, but gradually springs up, gets into ear, and ripens."

It was in November of this year that the French Indians fell suddenly upon the mission-house at Mahony, in Pennsylvania, murdered eleven persons and burnt the buildings, which was followed by terrifying rumors and great consternation; but before the matter ended it was learned that the French Indians had intended to destroy all the Moravian missionaries and their settlements instead of this one, but were defeated, and then it was believed and acknowledged that these missionaries had not been in league with the French, and had been harmless toward the English.

Amidst all the terrible troubles of the whole country, Pachgatgoch was not forsaken. The missionary Jungman and his wife, and the single brethren Eberhard and Utley, resided there. The daily worship and schools continued in their usual course, and the magistrates gave them protection, and to the latter they freely showed every letter they received, thus preventing any suspicion, as though they were in league with the French, as had been previously charged against them.

In 1755, '57 and '58, the war raged fearfully, but the Connecticut Indians and people were much less disturbed than those in Pennsylvania and New York, where there was no rest until after Wyoming was burned, and then the Indians were driven back to Canada.

"The congregation was served, in 1759, by the missionary Grube, whose discourses proved useful, both to his people and to strangers. The missionaries here became acquainted with several Indian Separatists who were formerly baptized by the Presbyterians, but afterward excluded from their fellowship. They then selected a preacher from their own number who once brought seventeen of his congregation to Pachgatgoch. They held three or four meetings every day, and conversed much with the Indian Brethren, but their conduct proved no honor to that Savior in whose name they had been baptized. The place was much troubled by recruiting parties, and many young Indians suffered themselves to be deceived by their insinuating representations of the life of a warrior; and others were glad to es-

cape from their creditors among the white people. Painful as this was to the missionaries they could not oppose it, as the recruiting officers acted under the authority of the government, and therefore only earnestly exhorted the Indians to remember the grace imparted unto them, praying the Lord to deliver them from the misery into which they would infallibly plunge themselves by their inconsiderate conduct.

"The congregation at Pachgatgoch was supported, in the year 1762, under many difficulties. The neighboring country being much resorted to by Europeans, the Indians were confined to very narrow limits. One piece of land after another was taken from them, by which they lost much of the means of support, and hence run into debt; when, not being able to pay, they were treated with great severity, and even their poor furniture taken from them. This behavior exasperated the unbaptized Indians to such a degree that they abused the baptized ones on account of their sobriety and better management of their outward concerns, attacking them on the highway and other places, and cruelly beating them. A kind of melancholy pervaded the congregation, and the missionary himself began to lose courage. But this did not long continue, for the success of the gospel began again to be manifested, when not only the Indians but the Europeans came in great numbers to see and hear. The continued friendship and countenance of the magistracy proved also an encouragement. The justice of the peace frequently exhorted the Indian congregation to be obedient to their teacher, and that if anything displeasing should occur, they should first go to their missionary, and endeavor to settle, in a friendly way, their disputes, for he would determine in all cases whether the affair required the interference of the magistrate.

"The congregation at Pachgatgoch, whose situation was very distressing in the year 1762, was still more oppressed during the three following years, while the Indian war in Pennsylvania and New York was prevailing, and they were at length so much dispersed, that nothing remained but the hopes that they might unite again in time of peace."

Emigration of the Indians from the Housatonic valley continued by scattering families and individuals, during all the years from 1743 until 1765, and did not then wholly cease. Some of

them went to the Iroquois, and many to Pennsylvania. The representation usually made in Connecticut history that a large proportion of those who emigrated to Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten in Pennsylvania, in 1746, returned to Pachgatgoch, finds no recognition whatever in Loskiel's history, from which the preceding account is taken. Some doubtless came back, just as white emigrants return, and have returned from the West; but that the emigration of the Indians continued in considerable numbers, after 1746, cannot consistently be disputed.

Wechquadnach after 1745.

The effect of the persecutions brought against the Indians at Shekomeko, and the death of their beloved teacher in 1745, was exceedingly disheartening, and a portion of them removed to Pachgatgoch, and another portion formed a colony at Wechquadnach, on the eastern border of Indian Pond (Indian, Wequagnok, or Wequodnoc), in the town of Sharon, Conn., and at this place was organized an Indian congregation, under the charge of the Moravians. David Bruce, a Moravian missionary, a Scotchman by birth, was appointed to the station in January, 1749, and died on the 9th of the next July. The journal at Bethlehem gives the following:

"July 22d.—At noon Moses's son came from Wechquadnach with letters from Brother Post, stating that on his arrival Brother Bruce was no more, having departed on the 9th inst. . . . Our Indian Brethren, Moses and Joshua, were his constant attendants during his illness. A short time before his end, taking their hands into his own, he pressed them to his heart, and entreated them to hold fast to the Savior. Some English neighbors, to whom he had endeared himself, assisted the Indians in making preparations for interring his remains. The funeral service was attended by many friends. Joshua, son of Gideon (Mauwehu), of Pachgatgoch, delivered a discourse in Indian, reminding his hearers of all that their teacher had told them of the Savior's love, and many were the tears that moistened the dark cheek of that mourning and bereft assembly. The body was then put on two canoes, and carried over 'Gnadensee,' the brethren and friends taking their way along the bank to the place of burial, amidst the singing of hymns. At the grave Brother Gidcon offered a prayer.

And thus was buried the first of our number among the hills and valleys of New England."

On the death of Bruce, in 1749, the whites about Wechquadinach expressed a desire to have a Moravian brother minister to them in spiritual things, as we are informed by Christian Froelich in a report written from Pachgatgoch, in 1752, saying: "Our Brother Bruce was much beloved by both whites and Indians. The former desire a Brother to preach the gospel to them, and have permitted me to put a stone on Brother David's grave, and then to inclose it with a fence." In May of the same year a letter was sent to Bethlehem reiterating the request, which met with a response; for, in July of 1753, Abraham Reinke was sent on a visitation.³ In his report he states that, during his sojourn of eight weeks, he preached twenty times to large audiences, sometimes numbering three hundred souls. His appointments were at Salisbury and Sharon, Conn., and in the Oblong, in Nine Partners, and at Livingston's Manor, in Dutchess County, N. Y. The Oblong he describes as "a tract of land, seventy to eighty miles in length by two in breadth, on the confines of Connecticut, by which it had been transferred to New York in exchange for other lands. The settlers had come over from Connecticut five years ago, in expectation of bettering their fortunes by the purchase of cheap farms, and for the enjoyment of religious liberty. Mr. Reinke was succeeded by other brethren, and thus this vicinity was recognized as a home mission field, in which Joseph Powell was one of the last laborers. The inscription on his tombstone reads: "The Rev. Joseph Powell, died 1744, æ. 63."

In memory of these missionaries, Bruce and Powell, the Committee of the Moravian Historical Society erected a monument at the same time the one was erected at Shekomeko. They say: "On descending the hill, there lay at our feet 'Indian Pond,' a fine sheet of water, full a mile in length. Our missionaries called it 'Gnaden See' (Lake of Grace). It lies partly in the Oblong and partly in Sharon, Conn. Across this beautiful lake the Indian brethren conveyed the remains of their beloved teacher to the Connecticut side, for interment in their own burial-

³ In the Province of New York and New England, where the Brethren formerly suffered much, they were now, in 1753, invited to preach. In the city of New York itself they built a church.



WECIQUADNACH LAKE, OR INDIAN POND.



place. The monument erected at this place stands on a rocky ledge, overlooking this beautiful sheet of water. The site is not only commanding, but peculiarly appropriate, since the prospect it affords embraces the entire region of country in which the Moravians carried on their missionary work as far south as the hills of Pachgatgoch, in Kent.

The inscriptions on this monument, which is eight feet and one and one-half inches in height, are the following :

[*North Side.*]

JOSEPH POWELL,
A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL
IN THE
CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN,
BORN, 1710,
NEAR WHITECHURCH, SHROPSHIRE, ENGLAND,
DIED, SEPT. 23, 1774,
AT SICHEM IN THE OBLONG
DUCHESS CO., N. Y.

[*South Side.*]

DAVID BRUCE
A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL
IN THE
CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN,
FROM
EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND,
DIED, JULY 9, 1749,
AT THE
WECHQUADNACH MISSION,
DUCHESS CO., N. Y.

[*East Side.*]

"HOW BEAUTIFUL UPON THE MOUNTAINS
ARE THE FEET OF HIM THAT BRINGETH
GOOD TIDINGS, THAT PUBLISHETH PEACE;
THAT BRINGETH GOOD TIDINGS OF GOOD;
THAT PUBLISHETH SALVATION."

ISAIAH LII, 7.

[*West Side.*]

ERECTED BY THE
MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
OCTOBER 6, 1859.⁶

The parties attending the services of the dedication of these monuments, on the 5th and 6th of October, 1859, are recorded as follows :⁷

⁶ Memorial Moravian Hist. Society, 82.

⁷ Ibid, 87.

"The party from Bethlehem, Pa., consisted of the Rt. Rev. Peter Wolle, the Rev. Sylvester Wolle, Misses Mary E. Shultz and Ellen Wolle, singers in the Moravian Church choir; Messrs. Jedediah Weiss, Ambrose H. Rauch, and James H. Wolle, trombonists; Mr. Granville Henry and Miss Sophia L. Henry, of Boulton, and Mr. W. C. Reichel. At New York, the delegation was joined by the Rev. Edwin T. Senseman, of that city, the Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz, Mr. and Mrs. John Jordan, Jr., and Messrs. Townsend Ward, John A. McAllister, and George F. Bensell, artist, from Philadelphia; and Mr. and Mrs. Bernard E. Lehman, from Bethlehem, also members of the Moravian Church choir of that place.

"These parties were joined at Pine Plains by the Rev. Sheldon Davis and his wife, from Pleasant Valley, near Poughkeepsie; Mr. and Mrs. Benson J. Lossing, from Poughkeepsie; the Rev. George H. Walsh and Mr. Theophilus Gillender, from Rhinebeck. The services were held at the Bethel chapel, at the Shekomeko monument, and at the Wechquadrach monument."

Whereunto they were driven.

The exodus from Shekomeko and the adjacent villages led to the commencement of an Indian settlement on lands purchased by the Moravian Brethren for this special purpose, a short day's journey to the northwest of Bethlehem, at the junction of the Mahony Creek with the Lehigh or west branch of the Delaware. This was late in 1746, and the prospect now again brightened. The temporal and spiritual condition of their foster children in the "huts of grace" called forth grateful acknowledgements on the part of the missionaries for the divine blessing, and Gnadenhuetten became the "crown of the Indian mission."

But the night of the 24th of November, 1755, dispelled the hopes and realizations of nine years of anxious toil. It was on this evening, when the mission-house was beset by hostile Indians, and eleven of the brethren and sisters were either butchered by the tomahawk, or burned in the conflagration of their common home. Now, again, Bethlehem became the asylum for the Indian, and here, safe, the fugitives, from the smoking ruins of Gnadenhuetten, passed the winter of 1756. In the following year they were transferred to a tract of land near by, and

the settlement was called Nain. Wechquetank, twenty-four miles to the north, was begun in 1760, and thus there were at this period two flourishing congregations of Christian Indians, in connection with the Moravian Church. But this prosperity was short-lived, for on the renewal of hostilities between the Indians of the frontier and the English colonies in 1763, both settlements became objects of suspicion, and their inhabitants were threatened with extermination. It was at this critical juncture that the government of Pennsylvania afforded a place of safety to the persecuted Moravian Indians in the barracks of Philadelphia.

The year 1765 was the first of twenty-seven years of wanderings through the wilderness of Northwestern Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the lake countries, which finally brought the weary remnant to a resting-place and home on British soil. David Zeisberger was the Moses of this toilsome exodus. Henceforward for years, the joys and sorrows of this mission are identified with this hero. In early manhood, while Mack and others were preaching Christ to the Mahicans and Delawares, Zeisberger had already done eminent service for his church, in its renewed overtures with the Six Nations in view of opening a mission within their borders. He had frequently preached in their dependencies on the Susquehanna (Shamokin, Wyoming, etc.), where there abode a mixed population of Delawares, Nianticokes, Shawanose, Mohawks, and Senecas, and had visited the great council fire of the Iroquois at Onondaga to treat with them on the ground of the covenant which their fathers had made, in 1742, with Zinzendorf. In 1763, we find him on the north branch of the Susquehanna, at the Indian village of Machwihilusing. Hither it was that Providence, in 1765, directed the remnants of the Nain and Wechquetank congregations, and where "huts of peace" (Friedenshütten) were a second time reared. In 1767, Zeisberger left this frontier post and penetrated to the sources of the Ohio; and at Goshgoshunk, a Delaware village, he planted the standard of the Cross. The result of his successes here was the establishment of Friedenstadt (town of peace) on Beaver Creek, in 1770, and there were again two flourishing congregations of Moravian Indians in the wilds of Northwestern Penn-

sylvania, in charge of the missionaries Zeisberger, Heckweelder, Schmick, Rothe, and others.

But the lands on which they dwelt, and which the labor of their hands had transformed into gardens, were seized, and they themselves compelled to wander in quest of new homes. Led on by their teachers, they settled, in 1772, on the banks of the Muskingum; successively at Schoenbrunn, Gnadenhuetten, Lichtenau, and Salem. Here for a few years they prospered, and then, being suspected of plotting against British interests during the struggle of the colonies for independence, on the 10th of August, 1781, a body of three hundred Wyandot warriors, in the English service, were sent from Fort Detroit against the Muskingum mission. The missionaries were taken prisoners, their houses pillaged, and their spiritual children ordered to follow them into exile. "Never did Indians leave a country with more regret; never did they leave more beautiful settlements. On the 11th of October, they were wantonly left to find a precarious subsistence in an inhospitable wilderness on the Sandusky, and the missionaries, after being tried and acquitted at Detroit, returned to their flock on the Sandusky. The winter was uncommonly severe, and famine stared the dwellers on the Sandusky in the face. Three hundred acres of maize which they had planted and hoed in the fields of the Muskingum stood untouched, except by the turkey. This being their lawful earnings, they resolved to harvest; but the white man determined otherwise, for, early in March, a party of one hundred and sixty lawless characters, principally from the banks of the Monongahela, in Western Pennsylvania, marched to the Muskingum, and fell on the inoffensive Christian Indians at Gnadenhuetten, when ninety-six of their number magnified the name of the Lord by patient martyrdom. The record of this atrocious deed was made on high, March 8, 1782.

The Indian congregation saved itself from total annihilation only by flight and dispersion. In July of the following year, the fugitives were once more collected on the Chippeway land, and on the south bank of the Huron River, "huts of grace" were built for a fourth time. "Gnadenhuetten" was maintained with difficulty for four years.

In April of 1786, a remnant of one hundred and seventeen

souls, the entire congregation of believing Indians, once more set out in quest of a home, crossed Lake Erie, and settled at Pilgerruh (pilgrim's rest) on the Cuyahoga. But the weary pilgrim found no rest. Driven from place to place, an exile from the land of his "Great Father," he found, in 1791, a resting-place for the sole of his foot on British soil.

In 1792, a tract of land on the Thames River, Canada West, was assigned to the Moravian Indians by the British government, and in May of the same year the settlement of Fairfield was commenced.

Five years later, a colony of thirty-three Indian brethren and sisters, led by the venerable Zeisberger, set out from Fairfield for the fertile valley of the Muskingum. Here Goshen was founded in 1797. It was the thirteenth settlement commenced by this missionary hero in the Indian country, and here, in 1808, he closed his earthly pilgrimage of eighty-eight years, sixty-two of which had been spent in the work of the gospel among the aborigines of this country. "As a shock of corn cometh in its season, so he came to the grave in a full age, and entered into the joy of his Lord." Goshen was maintained until 1821.

In the meantime, several attempts had been made to open missions on the borders of civilization in the Indian country; on the Wabash, between 1801 and 1806; among the Chippeways of Lake St. Clair, between 1802 and 1806; and on Lake Erie, between 1804 and 1809. But these undertakings were unsuccessful.

The congregation at Fairfield had enjoyed twenty years of undisturbed quiet, when the war of 1812 involved it in unexpected calamity. The Moravian settlement, mistaken for an English military post, was pillaged and burned to the ground by American troops. The fugitives collected around their teacher, near Lake Ontario, where they maintained themselves until the conclusion of peace, in 1815, when they returned to the Thames, on the south bank of which they built New Fairfield. This station is still maintained.


In July, 1837, two hundred brethren and sisters emigrated from New Fairfield to the far West; and, in the following year, Westfield was commenced on the river Kansas, within the limits of what was then the Indian territory. In 1853, as ever, their right to the soil being disputed, our Delaware brethren were

compelled to commence a new settlement ; and at present a lingering remnant is still under the care of a missionary on the eastern borders of the State of Kansas.

In 1801 a mission was opened among the Cherokees of North Georgia by Abraham Steiner. Spring Place and Ochgalogy became flourishing congregations. The names of Byhan, Gambold, and Smith are associated with the prosperous days of this mission. In 1838, on the removal of the Cherokee Nation beyond the Mississippi, the missionary followed his little congregation to the wilds of Western Arkansas ; and here, at the present day, the word of life is preached to Moravian Cherokees at New Springfield, Canaan, and Mount Zion. According to the latest accounts, four hundred souls, under the care of nine missionaries, are in church fellowship with the Moravian Indian mission.

CHAPTER XII.

AFTER THE MISSIONARIES.

HE Moravian Brethren began their labors at Wechquadnach and Pachgatgoch in 1741, simultaneously with those at Shekomeko. Two years later the missionaries, Mack, Senseman, Pyrlaeus, and Post statedly visited the Indians at Wechquadnach and Pachgatgoch, until the enterprise was intrusted to Mack alone, or chiefly, who took up his abode in the wigwam of the Captain (Mauwehu) of Pachgatgoch. In the same year (1743) the first converts, six in number, were baptized in this village. At their head was the Captain himself, who in baptism received the name Gideon. The others were Joshua, son of Gideon, Samuel, Amos, Maria, and Rachel. The last became the wife of the missionary, Post. This baptism took place February 13th, and the converts were all of the Potatuck nation, or general tribe.¹ Gideon grew in grace and in the knowledge of God, was an active and faithful assistant of the missionaries, and preached the gospel with great power among his people. He was the one to whom another Indian presented his gun, saying, "Now I will shoot you, for you speak of nothing but Jesus!" Gideon answered, "If Jesus does not permit you, you cannot shoot me," which answer so confounded the man that he dropped his gun, went home in silence, and not long after became a convert. Joshua was quite a celebrated preacher. Mack continued to reside in Pachgatgoch, in a bark hut, which he had meanwhile built for himself and wife.

While the work at Pachgatgoch² prospered thus, that at Wechquadnach did not remain without good results. The first convert of this village who received baptism, as recorded by the

¹See chapter vii, p. 105, as to this tribe.

²See Memorial Moravian Hist. Society, 159.

well-known missionary, John Heckewelder, was Kaupaas (Kaibus, hitherto), named Timothy in baptism, August 4, 1742, at Shekomeko. The second convert was Moses, baptized in December of the same year. Two years later, in 1744, on the 3d of June, the first baptism occurred in the village itself, Martha, Gideon's second wife, being the recipient. It appears that Mack and the missionaries at Shekomeko statedly visited Wechquadnach. When the mission-house at this latter place was built, has not been ascertained; but it bore the same beautiful name which the Brethren gave to that sheet of water, namely, *Gnadensee*, that is, "Lake of Grace."

About twenty converts were baptized in these two places up to the spring of 1744.

In the year 1745 the resident missionaries were obliged to leave the province of New York, and in the following year the Indian converts began to disperse. The Brethren at Bethlehem sent heralds of the gospel as often as possible, and Gideon and Abraham and the other assistants continued to proclaim the Word of Life; but the records of those years plainly show that, among the baptized converts, more than one became careless of his Christian character. In this lamentable state, the Pachgatgoch and Wechquadnach mission continued until 1748. In the autumn of that year Bishop John de Watteville and his wife—who was the eldest daughter of Count Zinzendorf, and, six years before, as a young girl, had wandered with her father through the wilderness of Pennsylvania and New York to visit the Indians—arrived in America, on an official tour to the churches of the Brethren. One of the first works which Watteville undertook was to go in search of the lost sheep at the former mission stations, and hence, in the month of December, accompanied by Bishop Cammerhof and Nathaniel Leidel, a clergyman of the church, he reached Wechquadnach and Pachgatgoch, where most of the Indians were found either in the villages or in their forest hunting-huts. With apostolic zeal, these men renewed the work of the gospel here, entreating, warning, counselling, and imparting comfort, as the case might be, until a revival of religion took place among the Indians, and several new converts were baptized. This was the occasion for the re-commencement of the mission in these two localities.

The next February David Bruce was sent as resident missionary to Wechquadnach, where he died the next July.

Mr. Post at the same time visited for a month Pachgatgoch, and returned to Bethlehem, not long after Mr. Bueninger was stationed at this place, and continued for some time, assisted at intervals by Mr. Senseman, and with the visit of Bishop Spangenberg. The chapel was built in 1752. In 1754 the congregation numbered more than one hundred, and was reported as prosperous and giving much satisfaction to the missionaries; but after this the interest began to decline, and about 1765 the missionaries had retired to Pennsylvania.

A Wanderer Restored.

The following record of the restoration to the path of the Christian life of two Indians who had departed therefrom affords such instruction, that, although passed over in the previous narrative, is here introduced, and the accompanying poem by Mrs. Hemans, not only because it is so appropriate, but because the narration given by Loskiel, and here repeated, may have been the foundation or suggestion of the poem, by its most celebrated author. The poem is taken from *Sander's Fifth Reader*, where many children, as well as others, may have become familiar with it, but will none the less be glad to see it here, especially as connected with historical fact.

The faithful life and labors, as well as the death of Gottlob Buettner (written now Büttner) will be called to mind as this story is read, and something of the spirit of the zealous missionary can but be realized in the careful perusal of Mrs. Hemans's poem.

Buettner, in his report to Bishop Spangenberg, at the close of the year 1744, concerning two of the baptized who had deviated, said: "Rejoice with me, for I have found the sheep which were lost. Jonathan is again become my brother, and not only he, but Jonah also, who has been unhappy for these thirteen months past. My heart followed Jonathan wherever he went, and I thought we must go and seek for him, though he were forty miles off, hunting in the woods."

This being resolved on, Mr. Rauch set out after him, to offer him forgiveness and peace with his brethren, if he would accept

of it. When Jonathan perceived him coming, he was frightened, and stood like one paralyzed. The missionary, accosting him in a friendly tone, told him the aim of his visit, adding, that if he should fly to the distance of two or three hundred miles, the brethren would still seek after him. Jonathan could make no reply for amazement, but only said, in broken sentences: "Does Buettner remember me still? Are you come merely to seek me? Have you nothing else to do here? I am wretched; I am in a bad state." Mr. Rauch, perceiving that his heart was touched, and much awakened, said nothing more that evening; but in the morning Jonathan repeated his questions, adding more to the same purpose, and then, from a truly broken and contrite heart, began to weep most bitterly. Nor could he comprehend how the Brethren could possibly love such a miserable sinner, who had grieved them so much. Mr. Rauch answered: "We love you still, but your Saviour loves you much more." Upon this he gave full vent to his tears, spoke much of the state of his heart, and described his wretched and woful condition. When the missionary left him, he begged that the Brethren would pray for him, and promised to return soon. Mr. Buettner, whose heart burned with love towards this poor straying sheep, thought the time long, before he could receive him into his arms, for he was meditating day and night how he might lead souls to Christ, preserve them for Him, and recall those who had gone astray. Although he himself was very feeble in health, he forgot even his bodily weakness. At length his dear Jonathan arrived in Shekomeko, and with him the above-named Jonah, but very bashful and full of fears. Mr. Buettner immediately ran to meet him, and received him as a father receives his prodigal son.

Jonathan entirely recovered his former peace and happiness, and ever after walked in a steady course. The grace of Jesus operated also most powerfully upon the heart of Jonah; he was afterward beloved by all, as a true disciple of the Lord Jesus, and his walk proved an edification to the whole congregation.

Mrs. Hemans's Poem.

SCENE. *Halcyon Lake, in the deep forests. A cabin on its shore, in front of which is seated the missionary Rauch.*

Rauch. Was that the light from some lone swift canoe
Shooting across the waters? No; a flash
From the night's first quick fire-fly, lost again
In the deep bay of cedars. Not a bark
Is on the wave; no rustle of a breeze
Comes through the forest. In this new, strange world,
O how mysterious, how eternal, seems
The mighty melancholy of the woods!
The desert's own great spirit, infinite!
Little they know, in mine own father-land,
Along the castled Rhine, or e'en amidst
The wild Hartz mountains, or the sylvan glades
Deep in the Odenwald,—they little know
Of what is solitude! In hours like this,
There from a thousand nooks the cottage hearths
Pour forth red light through vine-hung lattices,
To guide the peasant, singing cheerily,
On the home-path; while, round his lowly porch,
With eager eyes awaiting his return,
The clustered faces of his children shine
To the clear harvest moon. Be still, fond thoughts!
Melting my spirit's grasp from heavenly hope
By your vain, earthward yearnings. O, my God!
Draw me still nearer, closer unto Thee,
Till all the hollow of these deep desires
May with Thyself be filled! Be it enough
At once to gladden and to solemnize
My lonely life, if, for Thine altar here
In this dread temple of the wilderness,
By prayer, and toil, and watching, I may win
The offering of one heart,—one human heart,
Bleeding, repenting, and, loving!

(p.p.) Hark! a step,—

An Indian tread! I know the stealthy sound;
'Tis on some quest of evil, through the grass
Gliding so serpent-like.

[*He comes forward and meets an Indian warrior armed.*]

Enonio, is it thou? I see thy form
Tower stately through the dusk, yet scarce mine eye
Discerns thy face.

Enonio. My father speaks my name.

Rauch. Are not the hunters from the chase returned?
The night-fires lit? Why is my son abroad?

Eno. The warrior's arrow knows of nobler prey
Than elk or deer. Now let my father leave
The lone path free.

Rauch. The forest way is long
From the red chieftain's home. Rest thee awhile
Beneath my sycamore, and we will speak
Of these things further.

Eno. Tell me not of rest !
My heart is sleepless, and the dark night swift ;
I must begone.

Rauch. [*Solemnly.*] No, warrior, thou must stay !
The Mighty One hath given me power to search
Thy soul with piercing words, and thou *must* stay,
And hear me, and give answer ! If thy heart
Be grown thus restless, is it not because
Within its dark folds thou hast mantled up
Some burning thought of ill ?

Eno. [*With sudden impetuosity.*] How should I rest ?
Last night the spirit of my brother came,
An angry shadow in the moonlight streak,
And said : " Avenge me ! " In the clouds this morn
I saw the frowning color of his blood,
And that, too, had a voice. I lay, at noon,
Alone beside the sounding water-fall,
And through its thunder-music spake a tone—
A low tone piercing all the roll of waves,
And said : " Avenge me ! " Therefore have I raised
The tomahawk, and strung the bow again,
That I may send the shadow from my couch,
And take the strange sound from the cataract
And sleep once more.

Rauch. A better path, my son,
Unto the still and dewy land of sleep,
My hand in peace can guide thee,—e'en the way
Thy dying brother trod. Say, did'st thou love
That lost one well ?

Eno. Knowest thou not we grew up
Even as twin roses amidst the wilderness ?
Unto the chase we journeyed in one path ;
We stemmed the lake in one canoe ; we lay
Beneath one oak to rest. When fever hung
Upon my burning lips, my brother's hand
Was still beneath my head ; my brother's robe
Covered my bosom from the chill night air.
Our lives were girdled by one belt of love,
Until he turned him from his fathers' gods,
And then my soul fell from him,—then the grass
Grew in the way between our parted homes ;
And whereso'er I wandered, then it seemed
That all the woods were silent. I went forth,
I journeyed, with my lonely heart, afar,
And so returned,—and where was he ? The earth
Owned him no more.

Rauch. But thou thyself, since then,
Hast turned thee from the idols of thy tribe,
And, like thy brother, bowed the suppliant knee
To the one God.

Eno. Yes, I have learned to pray
With my white father's words, yet all the more
My heart, that shut against my brother's love,
Hath been within me as an arrow fire,
Burning my sleep away. In the night hush,
'Midst the strange whispers and dim shadowy things
Of the great forests, I have called aloud :—
"Brother ! forgive, forgive !" He answered not ;
His deep voice, rising from the land of souls,
Cries but "Avenge me !"—and I go forth now
To slay his murderer, that, when next his eyes
Gleam on me mournfully from that pale shore,
I may look up, and meet their glance, and say :—
"I have avenged thee !"

Rauch. O ! that human love
Should be the root of this dread bitterness,
Till Heaven through all the fevered being pours
Transmuting balsam ! Stay, Enonio, stay !
Thy brother calls thee not ! The spirit-world,
Where the departed go, sends back to earth
No visitants for evil. 'Tis the might
Of the strong passion, the remorseful grief
At work in thine own breast, which lends the voice
Unto the forest and the cataract,
The angry color to the clouds of morn,
The shadow to the moonlight. Stay, my son !
Thy brother is at peace. Beside his couch,
When of the murderer's poisoned shaft he died,
I knelt and prayed ; he named his Saviour's name
Meekly, beseechingly ; he spoke of thee
In pity and in love.

Eno. [*Hurriedly.*] Did he not say
My arrow should avenge him ?

Rauch. His last words were all forgiveness.

Eno. What ! and shall the man
Who pierced him with the shaft of treachery,
Walk fearless forth in joy ?

Rauch. Was he not once
Thy brother's friend ? O, trust me, not in *joy*
He walks the frowning forest. Did keen love,
Too late repentant of its heart estranged,
Wake in *thy* haunted bosom, with its train
Of sounds and shadows, and shall *he* escape ?
Enonio, dream it not ! Our God, the All-Just,
Unto Himself reserves this royalty,—
The secret chastening of the guilty heart,

The fiery touch, the scourge that purifies;
 Leave it with Him! Yet make it not thy *hope*;
 For that strong heart of thine—O! listen yet—
 Must, in its depths o'ercome the very wish
 For death or torture to the guilty one,
 Ere it can sleep again.

Eno. My father speaks
 Of change, for man too mighty.

Rauch. I but speak
 Of that which hath been, and again must be,
 If thou wouldst join thy brother, in the life
 Of the bright country, where, I well believe,
 His soul rejoices. *He* had known such change;
 He died in peace. He whom his tribe once named
 "THE AVENGING EAGLE" took to his meek heart,
 In its last pangs, the spirit of those words
 Which from the Saviour's cross went up to Heaven:
 "Forgive them, for they know not what they do;
 Father, forgive!" And o'er the eternal bounds
 Of that celestial kingdom, undefiled,
 Where evil may not enter, he, I deem,
 Hath to his master passed. *He* waits thee there;
 For love, we trust, springs Heavenward from the grave,
 Immortal in its holiness. He calls
 His brother to the land of golden light
 And ever-living fountains. Couldst thou hear
 His voice o'er those bright waters, it would say:
 "My brother! O! be pure, be merciful,
 That we may meet again."

Eno. [*Hesitatingly.*] Can I return
 Unto my tribe, and unrevenged?

Rauch. To Him,
 To Him return, from whom thine erring steps
 Have wandered far and long! Return, my son,
 To thy Redeemer! Died He not in love—
 The sinless, the Divine, the Son of God,
 Breathing forgiveness 'midst all his agonies—
 And *we*, dare *we* be ruthless? By His aid
 Shalt thou be guided to thy brother's place
 'Midst the pure spirits. O! retrace thy way
 Back to the Saviour! He rejects no heart,
 E'en with the dark stains on it, if true tears
 Be o'er them showered. Ay, weep thou, Indian Chief:
 For, by the kindling moonlight, I behold
 Thy proud lips' working: weep, relieve thy soul!
 Tears will not shame thy manhood, in the hour
 Of its great conflict.

Eno. [*Giving up his weapons to Herrman.*] Father, take the bow;
 Keep the sharp arrows till the hunters call
 Forth to the chase once more. And let me dwell

A little while, my father, by thy side,
That I may hear the blessed words again,
Like water-brooks amidst the summer hills,
From thy true lips flow forth; for, in my heart,
The music and the memory of their sound
Too long have died away.

Rauch. O, welcome back,
Friend, rescued one! Yes; thou shalt be my guest,
And we will pray beneath my sycamore
Together, morn and eve; and I will spread
Thy couch beside my fire, and sleep, at last,
After the visiting of holy thoughts,
With dewy wing, shall sink upon thine eyes!
Enter my home, and welcome, welcome back
To peace, to God, thou lost and found again!

Scatacook, Modern.

That there was a Scatacook tribe or settlement of Indians in what is now Kent, before Gideon Mauwehu located there is quite certain, for we find in the Colonial Records, Vol. VI, page 512, the "Scatacook," and "Skatacuk," as designating a tribe then dwelling there, and of such numbers and importance as to cause much alarm at the report that they "were all drawn off to the enemy"—the Canada Indians—and therefore twenty-one soldiers were sent to Litchfield, for "scouting, watching, and warding for the safety of said town," and fifteen others were sent to New Milford for the same purpose. This was in the spring of the year 1725, and, by certain records, we ascertain that Mauwehu did not settle in Scatacook until in, or after, the year 1729; therefore, the Indians must have been collecting at that place, specially, from the time they began to leave New Milford, 1707; and, since the name was then there as a local settlement, it is probable that it had been there many years previous to 1707.

The statement, therefore, that Scatacook, as an Indian settlement, was "first established by Gideon Mauwehu, about 1728,"³ must be a mistake, since it was there many years before Gideon Mauwehu set foot on its soil. The land on the east side of the Housatonic, from New Milford to the Massachusetts bounds, had been sold,—a strip to Fairweather, in 1716, and the rest to the Hartford and Windsor committee, in 1720, with Waramaug's reserve, and a small reserve to Nepato; but the land on the west

³ De Forest, 408.

⁴ Barber's Hist. Collections, 471; Trumbull, II, 106.

side of the Housatonic, west of Kent, had not been sold when Mauwehu settled there, and Mauwehu and his associates inherited it as descendants of the Potatuck Indians of the lower Housatonic valley; but this land, or much of it, was leased of the Indians in 1746, for £200, from the Housatonic to the western bounds of the colony, for a term of 999 years, the deed being signed by Capt. Mayhew, Lt. Samuel Coksuer, Jobe Mayhew, John Antenay, Thomas Cuksuer, and John Sokenoge;⁵ but a reserve was still maintained for the Indians.

The Pequot Story.

That Gideon Mauwehu was himself a Pequot is most surely a mistake; and the supposition that he was descended from the Connecticut Pequots is wholly without support, except by the story of Eunice Mauwehu, as told to Mr. John W. Barber, in 1836, when she was 72 years of age.

In Loskiel's history we are informed that Gideon Mauwehu was the son of Seim (Isaac)⁶ a chief or leading man at Shckomeko in 1742, fourteen years after Mauwehu settled at Scatacook. It is also said that when Mauwehu came to Scatacook he came from Dover, N. Y. Trumbull says he removed from "Newtown to New Milford, [and] about the year 1728 built him a hunting-house at Scatacook." Gideon Mauwehu surrenders his right to the reservation at the Fishing Place, on the Naugatuck (now Seymour) to his son Jo Mauwehu (about 1740), and hence must have been a direct descendant of the Potatucks and Paugasucks, at Stratford and Derby, for this was a reservation by the Derby Indians.

There was an Indian in the town of Stratford, in 1714, whose given name was "Pequot," and that is all the authority there is as to the Pequot story, except the story of Eunice, who was the third in regular descent in Derby.

It may be added here, as a summary, that the Potatucks, as a general tribe, including all the local settlements on the Housatonic, from Long Island Sound to the Massachusetts line, claimed and gave deeds for the territory within the bounds thus described; and that therefore, as well as for various other rea-

⁵ DeForrest, 414.

⁶ This relation to Isaac is found to be an error, since the above writing.

sons, they were one tribe; that, as such, their first settlement was at Scatacook (Pishgachtigok, signifying, "the confluence of two streams"); the next was at Weantinock, now New Milford, where, as well as at Kent, they retained a perpetual habitation from long before the English came into the country, up to 1705; that the name of the tribe was taken from their location here in New Milford, so near the "Great Falls," at Falls Mountain, namely, "Potatuck,"—"Falls Indians."

When the English settled at Stratford the river was known to the Indians only as the Potatuck river, and had no other name until the English applied one. Mr. J. H. Trumbull gives the following as to this name: "*Po'tatuck*, Pow'tatuck: denoting 'the country about the falls,' " which is very applicable here in New Milford; and this agrees with the statement by Sherman Boardman in 1796, who says: "But the great capitol [of the Potatuck Indians] was New Milford, alias Oweantinoque."

When, then, Mauwehu came to Kent he was an heir to the territory the same as the Indians who had been there long years, and as those who had removed there from New Milford immediately after 1707, and during twenty years following. In 1736, soon after Waraumaug's death, quite a number of Indians from New Milford were settled by permission of the government on Ten Mile river, which was but a few miles from Mauwehu's settlement.

The following is from DeForest, pages 415 to 420: "In 1757, Jabez Smith was chosen overseer of the tribe, being the first officer of the kind appointed for the Scatacooks." Ten years after this event, Mauwehu and many other of the older persons in the community being dead, the remainder became anxious to remove to Stockbridge. The Stockbridge Indians had invited them to come." [But probably only few went.]

In 1771, upon a petition by David Sherman, Job Sucknuck, and eight others, Elisha Smith was appointed overseer; and he was shortly succeeded by Reuben Swift, and he, in turn, by Abraham Fuller, who held the office several years.

"By 1774, so many Scatacooks had died or removed that the number remaining in Kent was only sixty-two. Of the other bands in Litchfield county, there were seven individuals in Cornwall, eight in Litchfield, and nine in Woodbury.

"In 1775, the Assembly ordered that the lands of the Scatacooks should be leased to pay their debts and defray their expenses. Thomas Warrups, probably the son of the old Sagamore of Reading [no, the father of the Reading Warrups, and the son of Chickens], was allowed to sell thirty acres of land to pay his debts and provide for his family. Three years after, another tract of ten acres was sold, for the purpose of relieving the indigent circumstances of the Warrups family. The old squaw of Chickens was still living, but was blind."

In 1684, Chickens signed a deed of Stratford lands, he then living, probably, at Potatuck, in what became Newtown; in 1736, he sold land in Fairfield, near Danbury, making a reserve which was confirmed to him by a legislative committee about 1743, and which he, then being called Captain Chickens, alias Sam Mohawk, exchanged with John Read, Esq., for land at Scatacook, in 1749, when he probably made his residence at the latter place, and where he died aged nearly one hundred years.

Joseph Mauwehu, of Chusetown (afterwards Humphreysville), settled at Scatacook with most of his kindred from that place, about 1785; for his name is attached to a petition dated here April 13, 1786.

"In 1801, the Scatacooks were reduced to thirty-five, who cultivated only six acres of land, although their territory amounted to twelve hundred acres, extending from the Housatonic to the New York line. At this time Benjamin Chickens, a descendant of the old Captain Chickens, was a careful and industrious farmer at this place."

Mr. J. W. Barber (p. 471) says that in 1836 Eunice Mauwehu and two or three families were all that then remained of the tribe at Scaticook. One of the daughters, Patty Mauwehu, lived among the white people, as a work-girl, at Northville in New Milford, and died there within the memory of a number of persons now living.

A few families still remain in Scaticook who are cared for by the State, and a few are residing elsewhere.

Joseph Kelson, of the Mauwee family, died recently, leaving a widow who resides there, his children being scattered to different places at work.

Value Kelson, who married one of the Mauwee family, removed to Stratford in the spring of 1882, with his family.

Henry Pann, of the Pann family, married his wife in Scaticook, where he resides.

One daughter of the Chicken family is in Scaticook and one in New Haven, who has children—Nancy and Mint.

George Cogswell (Cotsure), son of Jabez of New Milford, married Sarah Bradley, whose mother was a Mauwee, and resides at Scaticook.

Jabez Cogswell, son of Jeremiah (of the Cotsure family), and brother to Nathan Cogswell who resided in Cornwall, resides in New Milford. (See page 53.) His father spelled the name "Cocksell" for many years.

Jabez, an intelligent, upright citizen, much respected, has a comfortable home in New Milford village. By his first wife he had children—George, married and resides in Scaticook, Ellen, and Mary; by his second wife Lewis, Charles, Fred, Frances Eliza, and Chauncey.

Jabez, besides his brother Nathan, whose family are all dead, had three sisters; Eliza, died recently, leaving a son Joseph, who resides at Lakeville, Conn; his sisters Emily, Ann, and Rosetta reside in New Haven.

The family name spelled usually in this work, Mauwehu, has been known and is still, mostly, as Mauwee.

APPENDIX A.
THE MORAVIANS.¹



HE Moravians claim—and that claim has never, by intelligent historians, been disputed—to have descended from one of the earliest churches founded by the Apostle St. Paul in Illyricum (Rom. xv, 19), and by the Apostle Titus in Dalmatia (2Tim. iv, 10), viz.: the Slavonian branch of the Greek or Eastern Church.

Christianity was introduced into Bohemia and Moravia by two Greek ecclesiastics, Cyrillus and Methodius, in the ninth century. About this time occurred the great schism between the Eastern and Western churches, which is now represented on the one hand by the Greek church of Constantinople and Russia and their dependencies, now numbering some sixty or seventy millions of souls, and, on the other hand, by the Church of Rome, the Church of England, the Moravian, and other Protestant churches.

The Bohemian and Moravian churches were thus unfortunately placed between two powerful antagonistic bodies, both of whom, but especially the Church of Rome, never scrupled to use the civil sword with all its power to enforce submission to its decrees, and to compel obedience to the doctrines and practices which it enjoined. The controversy arose, in the first place, from the infamous attempt of the Church of Rome to impose upon the eastern church, by its own authority, an alteration of the acknowledged symbol of Christendom, the Nicene creed, and thus to pave the way for those subsequent corruptions of primitive truth which has indelibly stamped upon the forehead of the Papacy the mark of anti-Christ.

The Bohemians and Moravians adhered to their ancient faith ;

¹ This account is taken from the article denominated Shekomcko in the *Memorial of the Dedication of Monuments*, by the Moravian Historical Society, 1860.

and hence a long series of the most bitter persecutions fell upon them, in order to subject them, if possible, to the Papal See. These persecutions they endured in common with the Waldenses of France and Italy, with whom, for the most part, they symbolized in doctrine, and, for a considerable period, were apparently identified. Indeed, Peter Waldo, the reputed founder of the Waldensian churches, is said to have finally settled and found a grave in Bohemia. From this period to the rise of John Wickliffe, at Oxford, in England, in the early part of the fourteenth century, and to John Huss and Jerome of Prague in the latter part of the same century, the Bohemians, Moravians, and Waldenses continued to suffer similar persecutions until the beginning of the Reformation, when, for the most part, they became absorbed in that general movement; and, though the Moravians in particular retained their ancient regimen, still they are little known in the history of subsequent times, except under the general name of Protestants, a term which embraces everything hostile, and often nothing but what is hostile, to the Church of Rome. As will appear in the sequel, the Moravian Church was founded, not so much on protest against Rome, as on the basis of the original Christian faith.

With reference to John Huss, who is particularly claimed by the Moravians as a representative of their church, but who was cruelly martyred by the Papists in 1415; and who, among his last words while he was burning at the stake, as if in prophetic foresight of the dawning Reformation, exclaimed to his tormentors, "A hundred years hence, and you shall answer for this before God and me." We cannot forbear to present the testimony of the principal nobility of Bohemia to the Romish council of Constance in that year: "We know not for what purpose you have condemned John Huss, Bachelor in Divinity and preacher of the gospel. You have put him to a cruel and ignominious death, though convicted of no heresy. We protest with the heart, as well as with the lips, that he was honest, just, and orthodox; that for many years he had his conversation among us with godly and blameless manners; that during these many years he explained to us the gospel and the books of the Old and New Testament according to the exposition of the doctors approved by the Church; and that he has left behind him

writings in which he denounces all heresy. He taught us to detest everything heretical. He exhorted us to the patience of peace and charity, and his life exhibited a distinguished example of these virtues."

The name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren, was the result of a formal union, in 1457-60, between the Moravians, Bohemians, and Waldenses, all of whom afterwards, so far as they were distinctly known, bore the title of United Brethren, commonly called Moravians. About this time lived Gregory, afterwards styled the Patriarch of the Brethren, and synods were frequently held for the promotion of their communion interests.


The Moravians were the first Christian society who employed the newly-invented art of printing for the publication of the Holy Scriptures in a living language, for general distribution among the people. The first edition was published at Venice about the year 1470, being the oldest printed version of the Bible in any European language. Before the commencement of the Reformation by Luther, in 1517, the Moravians had already issued three editions of the Scriptures.

After this, however, they were subjected to a series of most violent persecutions, until they were apparently well nigh extinguished. In the midst of the greatest trials, apprehensions, and fears, yet hoping against hope, their extinction was prevented, and their restoration was again commenced by John Amos Comenius, who was consecrated a bishop of the Brethren's church in 1632, and who made earnest and repeated applications to all the Protestant princes in Europe, and particularly to the English nation, the most powerful support of Protestantism, to patronize the suffering church to which he belonged. Nor were these applications unsuccessful. A strong sympathy was created in their favor, and in 1715 an order was issued from the Privy Council, "For the relief and for preserving the Episcopal Churches in Poland and Polish Russia."

This brings us down to near the period when, under the direction of Christian David and Count Zinzendorf, who had just established themselves in Herrnhut, in Germany, the Moravians commenced their very remarkable and successful labors among the heathen, and found their way for that purpose first to Green-

land, in 1733, a mission which has been singularly prosperous and very noted up to the present day ; then to the Creek and Cherokee Indians in Georgia, under the patronage and with the aid of the distinguished George Whitefield and John Wesley, in 1735 ; and then, after the establishment of their colony at Bethlehem, their headquarters in this country, to these shores, and to the Mohican and Wampanoag Indians at Shekomeko and its vicinity.

APPENDIX B.

 OTATIK, located by the Moravians on the Housatonic, "seventy miles inland," and Westenhuck, or Wnahktakook, the capital of the confederacy, were villages of the Westenhucks, subsequently known as the Stockbridges. Westenhuck and Stockbridge were two distinct places. The former was among the hills south of Stockbridge.—(*Southier's Map.*) (*Loskiel's Map.*) After the establishment of the reservation and mission at Stockbridge, this Indian village was mainly, if not entirely, deserted. Many of the tribe removed to Pennsylvania, and others united with the mission. *Ruttenger*, 86.

Ruttenger says also (p. 88-9), "Reference has already been made to the capital or council-fire of the nation [Mohicans], as having been at Westenhuck. That the original capital was at Schodac is affirmed by the Dutch records and by the traditions of the tribe, and accords with the interpretation of the name itself. Like other tribes, they recoiled before the incoming civilization, and, sometime between 1664 and 1734, removed their national seat to Westenhuck, where it was known to the authorities of Massachusetts (*Stockbridge, Past and Present*), as well as to the Moravian missionaries." "In February, 1744," says Laskiel, "some Indian deputies arrived at Shekomiko from Westenhuck, to inquire whether the believing Indians would live in friendship with the new chief." In 1751, he writes at Gnadenhutten in Pennsylvania: "Two deputies were likewise sent to the great council of the Mahikan nation at Westenhuck, with which they appeared much pleased, and, as a proof of their satisfaction, made Abraham, an assistant at Gnadenhutten, a captain." Again: "The unbelieving Indians at Westenhuck made several attempts to draw the Christian Indians in Shekomiko into their party." "Brother David Bruce," it is added, "paid visits to Westenhuck, by invitation of the head chief of

the Mohican nation," of whom it is said: "The above-mentioned chief of Westenhuck, who had long been acquainted with the brethren departed this life." This chief was Konapot [Konk-apot], whose name has been preserved in the records of the Stockbridge mission, and who is described by Hopkins as "the principal man among the Muhhekaneok of Massachusetts." By the records of Massachusetts, it appears that, in 1736, the Westenhuck sachem visited Boston, accompanied by the chiefs from Hudson's river, as one people, while the former, when known as the Stockbridges, came to Albany in 1736, and were received as the actual Mohicans, instead of those known as such to the authorities of New York. The fact that Westenhuck was the point selected for missionary labor by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts is additional proof of its importance. Though the extremities of the nation withered under the adverse influences by which they were surrounded, the heart remained in vigor long after that of its rivals had been consumed."

The Potaik, above referred to as belonging to the Westenhuck Indians, has been mistaken for Potatuck in Newtown, Conn. How this should have occurred when all the earliest maps and Loskiel's History place it "seventy miles inland" is difficult to see. And also the account given by the missionary, Mack, of his visit to the Potatik's does not harmonize with the small number and circumstances of the Indians who were then residing at Potatuck at the mouth of the Shepaug river.

In giving some items concerning the word Housatonic it was intended to give the record made by Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull, after some other references were made, but that purpose was unintentionally passed at the time and afterwards forgotten; hence a reference is made again to that subject.

The locality bearing the name Housatonic, when first entered by Connecticut soldiers while in pursuit of King Philip's warriors, was about twenty miles south of what is now called Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and at the same place the Moravian missionaries found the settlement of Indians, and the place was called by them, as well as by the Dutch of New York, for many years previous, Westenhuck.

Dr Benjamin Trumbull, who visited all localities in Connecti-

cut and took notes from which he wrote his History of Connecticut, a standard work, understood the word to be "Housatonic," and so used it throughout his work, in which he and President Dwight agree. To depart from accredited standards does not appear wise.

This name and its origin and meaning are given by Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull as follows :

"*Housaton'uc*, modern, *Housatonuc* river. The termination of this name shows that originally it did not belong to the *river*, but was transferred from a particular locality or tract of land. Eunice Mahwee (or Mauwehu), the last full-blood survivor of the Scaticook band in 1859, pronounced the name 'Hous'atenuc,' and interpreted it 'over the mountain.' This agrees with the interpretation that was given to President Dwight, 'The river beyond the mountain,' and is sustained by analysis : *wussi* (Delaware *awussi* ; Chip. *wassa*, *waus'suh* ; Abnaki *awas* or *oose*) meaning 'beyond,' 'on the other side of' ; *adene* 'mountain,' and *uk* 'place,' 'land.' The tradition received by the Scaticook Indians of the discovery of the river and valley by those who came 'over the mountain' from the west, establishes this interpretation beyond reasonable doubt."

In regard to the Indian name of the locality at New Milford village, Mr. J. H. Trumbull spells it as the true way, "*Wean'tinock*." (For the meaning see page 102.)

Jonathan Law (afterwards governor), who was the first clerk of the New Milford Company, and a good penman and speller, wrote the word in several ways. The most frequent forms are "Wyantinoque" and "Oweantinoque." From the fact that he abbreviated frequently the last syllable thus, "noq.," many have supposed that it was intended to be written "naug."

Mr. Trumbull's spelling is undoubtedly correct.

"Scaticook" is Mr. Trumbull's spelling of this word, which would have been followed in this work but for forgetfulness at the beginning.

APENDIX C.

THE MASSACRE OF NINETY-SIX CHRISTIAN INDIANS.

Alas ! alas ! for treachery ! the boasting white man came
With weapons of destruction,—the sword of lurid flame ;
And while the poor defenceless ones together bowed in prayer,
Unpitying they smote them all while kneeling meekly there.

The cry of slaughtered innocence went loudly up to heaven ;
And can ye hope, ye murdering bands, ever to be forgiven ?
We know not,—yet we ween for you the latest lingering prayer
That trembled on your victims' lips, was " God forgive and spare."

Gnadenhuetten Massacre.

On page 186 of this book reference is made to this massacre, but at the time of that writing, the historical facts were not at hand to complete the record, and the subject was left with the brief statement there made, but since that time the following well authenticated narrative has been obtained, and is now added as being in a direct line of connection in the subsequent labors of the Moravian Brethren, from Scatacook to Canada ; and it is largely probable that some of the descendants of Scatacook and Shekomeko Indians were among the victims of this massacre ; indeed several names in this record are those that originated at Shekomeko.

We are also of the opinion that whatever barbarities the North American Indians may have committed upon white people, nothing of their doings ever equaled the atrociousness of the Gnadenhuetten massacre on the Tuscarawas River in Ohio, by Christian white people, and that therefore this record is worthy of reflection and thought.

During thirty years after the Indians of Scatacook and Shekomeko began to emigrate to Pennsylvania, the Delaware Indians of that State had emigrated to Ohio, and in 1772, David Zeisberger established the first successful mission among them, and

in a few years several flourishing congregations of Christian Indians were planted on the banks of the Tuscarawas River in Ohio. After the breaking out of the Revolutionary War in 1775, these Moravian missionary establishments on this river, at Gnadenhuetten, Salem, and Schoenbrunn among the Indians were frequently, and the faith and patience of the missionary brethren and the Indian congregations often severely tried. As their religion taught them to cultivate the art of peace instead of war, and as they desired to preserve neutrality between the English and their Indian allies on the one hand and the Americans on the other, they were treated in a hostile manner by both parties. The English Governor at Fort Detroit, influenced by the calumnies of their enemies, believed that the Christian Indians were partisans with the Americans, and that the missionaries acted as spies. In order to rid himself of them, he sent a message to Pimoacan, the half-king of the Wyandots, to take up the Indian congregations and their teachers, and carry them away. This man, instigated by the Delaware, Captain Pipe, a sworn enemy to the mission, at length agreed to commit this act of injustice.

In August, 1781, a troop of warriors numbering over three hundred, commanded by the half-king, the Delaware Captain Pipe, and an English Captain Elliott, made their appearance at Gnadenhuetten to accomplish this cruel object. The half-king and his retinue put on the mask of friendship, and proposed the removal of the Christian Indians as a measure dictated by a regard for their safety. This proposal they declined, but promised to consider their words, and return an answer the next winter.

With this the half-king would probably have been satisfied had not the English officer Elliott and Captain Pipe urged him to persevere. The result was that the hostile party became peremptory in their demands and insisted on their removal. Their vengeance was particularly directed against the missionaries, and they had frequent consultations in which it was proposed to murder all the white brethren and sisters, and even the Indian assistants. Finally, after much violence, and many barbarous cruelties, they compelled the Christian Indians and their teachers to emigrate, leaving behind them a great quantity of corn in their

stores, besides a large crop soon to be ready to be gathered, also potatoes and garden fruits.

In the beginning of October, 1781, the missionaries with the greater part of their congregations arrived under escort of the Wyandots at Sandusky, where their savage conductors abandoned them; and loaded with plunder, returned to their homes, leaving their captive victims to themselves in a country that was destitute of game, and every means of support. Pimoacan exulted in the accomplishment of his designs, and informed them that being now within his dominions, they were bound to obey his mandates, and commanded them to hold themselves in readiness to go to battle with him.

For a time the exiles roamed to and fro seeking a favorable locality for their stay over winter, and at length pitched upon a spot situated on the east side of the Upper Sandusky as the best they could find. Yet even here the country was dreary and barren, and they were at a loss to conceive whence the means of support for so many should come, during the winter which had already set in. Their small stock of provisions was nearly exhausted, and the prospect before them was dreary in the extreme.

In the midst of these circumstances a message came from the English commandant for the missionaries to appear without delay before him at Detroit. Glad of the opportunity to exculpate themselves and refute the many falsehoods propagated respecting them, four of the teachers with several Indian brethren, obeyed the summons. They appeared before the court-martial at that place and their conduct was investigated, especially in relation to their imputed "correspondence with the rebels, and frustrating the intended attacks of Indians upon the frontiers," and they were completely exonerated from all blame, and the governor endeavored to atone for the ill-treatment he had brought upon them, by every act of kindness. He provided them with suitable clothing and other necessities, repurchased their watches for them, and parted from them with most marked expressions of esteem.

The missionaries returned home and were greeted with unbounded joy by the people, who had apprehended that they would be kept prisoners, as had also been the commandant's original

attention. Notwithstanding their poverty the following months were a joyful season to them, and they celebrated Christmas with cheerfulness in their newly built log chapel.

The year 1782 had now commenced, and their situation was distressing in the extreme. A supply of four hundred bushels of corn, which had been brought from the deserted towns, was exhausted, and famine again stared them in the face. Provisions of all kinds were wanting; corn was very scarce throughout the country, and they who had it asked a dollar for three or four quarts,—the winter was unusually severe and wood difficult to be obtained. The cattle began to die of hunger, and the congregation were driven to the necessity of supporting themselves upon these dead carcasses. In some cases babes perished for want of nourishment from their mother's breasts.

In these deplorable circumstances, after due deliberation, the Indians came to the determination to return once more for food to their forsaken fields where the corn was still standing, and having formed themselves into several divisions, they set out, in all about one hundred and fifty men, women, and children, the greater part to return no more, but to fall a sacrifice to the treachery and revenge of the white men, in the notorious massacre at Gnadenhuetten.

The White Band of Murderers.

The actors in this foul transaction consisted of a military band of about one hundred men, from the western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, under the command of Col. David Williamson. The murder was premeditated, for their purpose was to proceed as far as Sandusky in order to destroy all the Moravian Indians. Among the incentives to this expedition against a quiet and peaceable people, were the unusually early depredations of the savages upon the Ohio settlements in the month of February, which, it was alleged, led to the supposition that the murderers were either Moravians or that the warriors had their winter quarters at their towns; in either case it was charged that the Moravians being in fault, the safety of the frontier settlements required the destruction of their establishments. Besides, the dismissal of Shabash² and some Christian Indians, who had been

² This is the old name found first at Shekomeco, and was perpetuated, perhaps, in memory of him.

captured in the fall, by Col. Gibson of Pittsburg, which was but an act of justice, gave great offense to the neighboring settlers. Men of the first standing in those parts, in consequence, volunteered to accompany Col. Williamson, each man furnishing himself with his own ammunition and provisions, and many of them traveling on horseback.

Col. Gibson of Fort Pitt dispatched messengers, as soon as he heard of the plot, to warn the Indians of the approaching danger, but they arrived too late. From another quarter, however, they received timely notice, but unfortunately they thought the information unworthy of credit. So secure did they feel at their occupations, that they neglected all their usual precautions. Parties were at work in the cornfields, at each of the three settlements, Gnadenhuetten, Salem, and Schoenbrunn. They had already gathered large quantities of grain and were beginning to bundle up their packs in order to take their final leave of the places, when suddenly the militia made their appearance.

When within a mile of Gnadenhuetten, Col. Williamson's party encamped for the night and reconnoitered the position.

On the morning of the 6th of March, the following plan for assault was devised. One half of the men were to cross the river and attack the Indians who were at work in the cornfields on the west side, while the other half, being divided into three detachments, were to fall simultaneously from different quarters upon the village on the east side. When the former division reached the river, they could not ford it because it was high and filled with floating ice; but, observing something like a canoe on the opposite side, a young man of the party swam across and brought over what proved to be a large sap trough. In this, going two by two, they commenced crossing, but impatient at delay, a few went over by swimming by its side and holding to its edges. In this manner sixteen had crossed over when the sentinels, who were in advance, discovered a lad, named Joseph Shabosh, the son of the assistant missionary, fired at him and broke one of his arms. The rest hastened to the spot, sending word by those who remained on the east side, for the other detachments to march upon Gnadenhuetten without a moment's delay, supposing that the firing would alarm the inhabitants. With most piteous entreaties young Shabosh begged them to spare

his life, representing that he was the son of a white man ; but regardless of his cries and tears, they killed him with their hatchets and scalped him. After thus whetting their appetites in his warm life-blood, the party approached the plantations.

The first to discover their approach was an Indian named Jacob, a brother-in-law to young Shabosh, who was employed near the banks of the river, tying up his corn, and while remaining unperceived he was about to hail them as a friendly party, when at that instant they shot at one of the brethren who was just crossing the river from the town. Upon perceiving this, Jacob fled with the utmost precipitation, and before their faces were turned towards him he was out of sight. Had he acted with coolness and courage he might have saved many, especially by proceeding to Salem and giving the alarm, but instead of this, fear led him to flee several miles in an opposite direction, where he hid himself a day and night.

The party of sixteen, now drew near to the Indians who were at work in the fields, in considerable numbers, having their guns with them, and finding that they were greatly out-numbered accosted them in a friendly manner, and pretending to pity them on account of their past sufferings, said that they had come to conduct them to a place of safety near Pittsburg, and advised them to discontinue their work at once, and return with them to the town to hold a further consultation. To all this the Indians, anticipating no harm from *American* soldiers, and ignorant as yet of the murder of Shabosh, cheerfully acceded. Not dreaming that they were to be caught "like fish in an evil net, and as birds that are caught in the snare," they rejoiced that they had found such true friends, and imagined they saw the hand of God in it, by which he would put an end to all their sufferings.

The other detachments had meanwhile arrived at the village, where they found but one man and a woman whom they shot as she was hiding in the bushes. But so far possessed were the Indians with the idea of removing that nothing was able to shake their confidence in the white men. They cheerfully surrendered their guns, hatchets, and other weapons, upon receiving the promise that they should be restored to them at Pittsburg ; and they showed where they had secreted their communion wine and their valuables, in the woods ; helped pack them up, and began to make every preparation for the journey to Pittsburg.

The native assistant, John Martin, was sent to Salem immediately upon the arrival of the party, to inform the inhabitants of the state of affairs, and the next day a troop of horsemen rode down to escort them all to Gnadenhuetten. With the same confiding trust in their professions of peace and good-will, they returned with them, conversing on the road upon religious topics in which their attendants joined with much appearance of piety. Arriving at the river's bank, opposite Gnadenhuetten, their eyes began to be opened, when it was too late. They discovered spots of blood on the sand, which excited alarm, and soon their fears were fully confirmed. As they entered the town, all were seized, as the others had been a short time before; their guns and pocket knives were taken from them and they themselves were pinioned, and confined in two houses standing some distance apart; the men in one and the women with the children in the other. Here they met as associates in sorrow, for the last time. Here they mingled their tears and their sympathies, and here their prayers ascended to the throne of grace.

The miscreant barbarians now held a consultation to decide the fate of their prisoners. The charges which they brought against them were, that their horses, as also their axes, pewter basins, spoons, and all they possessed had been stolen or obtained by improper means, from the white people, and also that they were warriors and not Christians. But all of these accusations were utterly false, as they well knew, for warriors never take children with them. The whites everywhere well knew the pacific principles of the Moravian Indians, and hence these men calculated on blood and plunder without having a shot fired at them.

On such pretexts the Indians were condemned to death, and the blood-thirsty troops were clamorous to begin the butchery without delay, but the officers hesitated. Can it be doubted that if they had been really averse to the crime they could have checked the blood-thirsty spirit of their unprincipled subordinates? And had Col. Williams been the brave man he has been represented, would he not have staked his life upon their defence rather than the guilt of such a monstrous butchery should be found upon him? It was more for the sake of appearances, and to devolve a part of the awful responsibility upon their men, than from motives of pity, that the officers determined to leave the question

to the vote of the whole company. Col. Williamson therefore put the question himself, in form :—

“Whether the Moravian Indians should be taken to Pittsburg, or be put to death,” and requested that all those who were in favor of saving their lives should step out of their line and form a second rank. On this sixteen or eighteen stepped forward, and upwards of eighty remained, and the fate of these Indians was thus decided. They were then told to prepare for death, a brief respite until the next morning being all that was granted.

During the night the murderers deliberated whether they should burn them alive or tomahawk and scalp them, and a few proposed milder measures ; but the voice of mercy was overruled and it was determined to butcher them one by one. The Indians were at first overwhelmed at the news of their impending fate, but quickly recovering themselves, they quietly submitted; trusting in the Lord whose servants they had become, they spent the night in prayer, and in exhorting one another to a faithful endurance to the end. At the dawn of the morning they offered fervent supplications to God their Saviour and united in singing praises unto Him in joyful hope that they should soon enter into His glorious presence and into everlasting bliss ; and thus they awaited the summons of their murderers.

It was the morning of the eighth of March, on which the awful scene was enacted. The murderers came to them while they were engaged in singing, and asked whether they were ready to die ? to which they received the answer that they had commended themselves to God, who had given them the assurance in their hearts that he would receive their souls. The carnage then commenced. By couples they were led bound into two houses, which had been selected for the purpose, and properly termed the “ Slaughterhouses,” the men to the one and the women and children to the other, and as they entered they were knocked down and butchered. A Pennsylvanian of the party, conducted the slaughter of the brethren. Taking a huge mallet (the house having been occupied by a cooper,) he said, looking at it and handling it, how exactly this will answer for the business. With this as the instrument of death he continued knocking down one after another, until he had killed fourteen with his own hands. He then handed the mallet to one of his followers, saying : “ My

arm fails me ; go on in the same way ; I think I have done pretty well." (This was related by a lad who escaped out of the house, and who understood English well.) The first of the Indian brethren, who was butchered, was Abraham, whose long, flowing hair attracted the notice of the murderers, because it would make, as they said, a fine scalp.

Of the horrors that were enacted in the house of the poor women and children we have no further account than that a woman, called Christina, who had resided in Bethlehem, Pa., and could speak English well, fell upon her knees before the Captain and begged him to spare their lives, but was told that it was impossible. So ferocious had the murderers become that they were not satisfied with merely killing their victims, but disfigured the dead and dying bodies in a horrible manner.

Thus perished at least ninety innocent persons, of all ages, from the gray-haired sire down to the helpless innocent at its mother's breast. Leaving the houses which were now reeking with human gore, and strewn with the mangled remains of human beings, the murderers went to a little distance, making merry over the horrid deed ; but returning again they saw one named Abel, who although scalped and mangled was attempting to rise, and they dispatched him.

The whole number of the slain was ninety-six ; but of these, several were killed before the general massacre, as Shabosh and his wife, and others who in attempting to escape by swimming the river were shot. Of the whole number of the Moravian Indians, forty were men, twenty-two were women, and thirty-four were children. Five of the men were respectable native assistants, viz. : Samuel Moore, Tobias Jones, Isaac Glickican, and John Martin. Samuel Moore and Tobias Jones had been members of the congregation of that eminently devoted servant of God and most faithful missionary, David Brainerd, after whose death they left New Jersey, and joined the Moravians. Samuel had received his education from Brainerd himself ; could read and was so well acquainted with the English language, that for many years he served in the capacity of interpreter. The others also bore excellent characters and were very useful members of the Church. Isaac Glickican had been a Sachem and was noted among his countrymen for superior wisdom and courage.

Only two lads of fourteen or fifteen years of age effected their escape. One of these was knocked down and scalped with the rest in the slaughter-house of the brethren. Having recovered a little he looked around and beheld on all sides the mangled corpses, and among them he observed Abel who was attempting to rise and whom the white men soon after despatched. With great presence of mind he lay quite still among the heaps of the slain, and when they had departed crept over the bodies to the door, still keeping himself in such a position as easily to feign death if any person should approach. As it began to grow dusk he quickly went out at the door and hid behind the house until it was quite dark and then escaped. The other lad loosed his bonds soon after it was ascertained that they were to die, and escaping from the house crept through a small window into the cellar under the house where the women were subsequently butchered, where he remained undetected, and as the butchery proceeded he saw the blood flow in streams into the cellar. He kept himself concealed until evening, when he with much difficulty made his way again through the narrow window into the woods. These two met, and staying a while to watch the movements of the white party, journeyed together to Sandusky.

The Indians who were gathering corn at Schoenbrunn were saved from the fate of their brethren, for they had despatched two brethren to Gnadenhuetten and Salem carrying intelligence from the missionaries, on the day the band arrived, who on their way discovered the marks of horses' hoofs along the path, and cautiously followed the tracks until they found the body of Shabosh, which they buried, and concluding their brethren had all perished by the same cruel hands, they hastily returned to Schoenbrunn. Here all took to instant flight, concealing themselves in the woods for several days on the opposite side of the river. When the murderers arrived on the following day they might easily have been discovered; but, being struck with an unaccountable blindness, and seeing no Indians, they soon rode away after pillaging and burning the village.

In the night after the massacre the white men set fire to all the houses of Gnadenhuetten, and to the slaughter-houses in particular. The dead bodies were however but partially consumed, and their bones remained to bleach in the sun until after

some twenty years they received interment by friendly hands. By the light of the burning village the murderers then departed, rending the air with shouts and yells more savage than ever arose in the wilderness before, and taking with them the scalps, about fifty horses, numerous blankets, and other articles of plunder, which they afterwards exposed to public sale in Pittsburg.

After a journey attended with innumerable hardships, the Indians from Schoenbrunn arrived at Sandusky, almost famished, having left all their provisions behind them.

Such is the account of one massacre of starving Christian Indians while peacefully seeking food, by so-called civilized and Christianized white people, authenticated by Zeisberger's Journal, Holmes' and Loskiel's Histories, Willet's Scenes in the Wilderness, and Dodridge's Notes; compiled and reviewed and prepared for the Centennial Celebration on March 8, 1882, by the Rev. Sylvester S. Wolle of Pennsylvania.

And still the same spirit of robbery, outrage, and murder prevails among many people against the Indians of the Far-West in the Christian nation called the United States. Is it any wonder that skeptics ridicule Christianity? Why did not the State of Pennsylvania punish this outrageous massacre? Because the people generally applauded the act and were satisfied with it. Were they Christians in so doing?

APPENDIX D.

ADDITIONAL ENGRAVINGS.



Fort Hill and the Indian Field.

THE illustration by this name represents the locality on the west side of the Housatonic River at New Milford village. The river at the bridge runs directly south, and the view is taken looking northwest. The bridge, called generally "Town Bridge," stands at the foot of Bridge street, which runs down westward from the south end of the village green to the river. The first bridge across the river at New Milford was a little way above this one, but there has been a bridge at the locality of this one about 120 years.

The low land at the west end of the bridge, extending up and down the river, is what was called the Indian field at the beginning of the settlement of the town, and for a hundred years after; and has been and is the garden of the town of New Milford. It was, to the first settlers, the granary of the town. It had been cultivated—about 100 acres of it—by the Indians, probably two or three hundred years before a white man set foot upon it, and was clear of trees and ready for cultivation. It is worthy therefore of a place in art.

The elevated land on which stands the dwelling-house, in the centre of the picture extending to the south, and to the northeast is Fort Hill, so called because on it stood the Indian Fort when the land was purchased of the Indians in 1703. It has an elevation of about sixty feet above the plain or Indian Field. On it, also, is the Indian burying place, a little south of the dwelling-house, where still about fifty mounds may be seen.

The highest hill on the left of the centre of the picture is Candlewood Mountain, and that over the centre of the bridge in

the farthest distance is the southern portion of Stilson Hill, originally Strait's Mountain. Guarding Mountain is to the extreme left hand, but only a little portion of it is to be seen in the picture.

The Indian settlement, called by the Indians Weantinock, including many wigwams, was on Fort Hill when the whites first came here, and there was an orchard of apples trees there at that time. The sight of the hut, which was the first residence of John Noble, the first permanent white settler in New Milford, is to be seen at the foot of Fort Hill, but is not represented in the picture.

The picture of Waraumaug's monument, as well as that of the gorge at Falls Mountain and that of Fort Hill, has been engraved since the first 200 volumes of this book were bound, and a further description seems necessary.

The picture of the gorge and Falls Mountain was taken from Goodyear's Island, just below the Cove, looking northward up the Housatonic River. The Town Bridge is seen at the upper end of the gorge, and the Great Falls, seen under the bridge, are a little distance above the bridge.

On the left hand of the gorge is a rock jutting out so that persons can step out on it and look down a perpendicular line into the water. This, it is said, is the original Lover's Leap, but the recent custom has been to call the height on the east side of the gorge Lover's Leap, to which there is much easier access. But the west side being much higher, and the side of the mountain more precipitous—almost perpendicular—affords much more interest and excitement to the visitor. The Indian Spring is on the west side of the gorge, before reaching the highest part of the mountain, and is a beautiful stream gushing from the rocks, and running eight or ten feet and then tumbling down the steep declivity into the river. A few Indian graves or mounds are to be seen about half a mile southwest from the spring, among a few trees and bushes, which preserve the monuments from the plough of civilization.

Waraumaug's Monument.

This is located on the mountain, about one quarter of a mile east from the height of rocks on the east side of the gorge as

seen in the picture, and consists of a rude pile of stones as described on page 111. The placing of these stones in their present position is the work of white people, and has been done within fifty years. The grave was by the side of an old Indian path over the mountain, and as the Indian passed he threw a stone upon the grave, but never piled them into the present form. The grave was dug into many years ago, and a small excavation still remains at the roots of a chestnut tree. After the most careful inquiry, there seems to be no doubt of the burial of the Chief Waraumaug at this place.

The picture of the monument was taken looking to the westward, and hence we have a little view of the beautiful valley of the Housatonic and the hills on the west side of it. The bridge to be seen in the picture is that of the Housatonic Railroad across Still River, where it—coming from the south—makes a short turn and empties into the Housatonic. The long roof of a building still nearer than the railroad bridge is that of the town bridge across the Housatonic river, and the surface of the river is four or five hundred feet below the monument.

One Yarn More.

Since printing the previous portion of this book a good story concerning Tom Wallops has been heard and is given as illustrative of the ready understanding of motives and pretentions. It was a custom with the farmers when dressing their pork to preserve the liver, heart, and tongue,—called the pluck,—and give them to the Indians. One farmer, being careful not to give away too much, cut off the heart and tongue for himself, and when Tom came along, gave the remainder to him, saying, "There, Tom, you have a good pluck for your dinner." "Yes," said Tom, expressing his thanks, "a very good pluck; no heart to deceive and no tongue to tell lies. A very good pluck."

CORRECTION.

The last paragraph on page 208, is erroneous, for Mr. Trumbull's spelling is Scata-cook, as is followed in this book.





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